133 /20 cont./ As in all mountain societies, one again finds even in the toponymy the distinction [192] between the adret /flank of a valley oriented toward the south/ and the ubac /flank of a valley oriented toward the north/, annammer and amalu. Another influence of the relief: from a [132] botanical viewpoint, it is not unimportant that despite the Sa- [137] haran sultriness of these peaks, the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ is "a Mediterranean peninsula in a country of steppes and deserts" (2).

2. R. Maire, op. cit., p. 10.

●182 Is this character of the flora found to the same degree in the techniques and other social forms? Let us be satisfied for the moment and, without prejudging anything, note a characteristic which is rendered visually and suggests certain kinds of life. Now here, in many respects, the Mediterranean reminder is archaism. In the civilization of the steppes, imposed by the climate on the surrounding low plains, and amidst the generalization of the unstable forms of life throughout the Maghreb since the lower Middle Ages, the Atlas has set up a conservative bastion. It has repressed modes that we would call European. These qualificatives, vague and literary when it is a matter of societies, draw from the language of the botanist a completely /21/ different preciseness.

132 Moreover, the oceanic exposure of these last high mountains of
133 the Atlas toward the W. brings, as L. Emberger observes, a rela-
[137] tive mildness, which sets them off from the contiguous sectors to the E., from the Gedmiwa, for example, and brings them closer, with regard to the flora, to the high calcareous summits of the eastern Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and even of the Moyen- [182] Atlas /Middle Atlas/. Great factor of originality for the Seksawa domain in relation to its immediate neighbors.

137 Below, the characteristic cultivated tree is the olive tree,
245 which with its plaques alternatively dark or ashen, depending upon the veering of the wind, covers the bottom of the valleys as far as Z'init' and Meghdir (1,100 meters). The almond tree, whose soft green populations contrast with the olive, in like

/24 cont./

137 Finally, this absence of the upper layer of the forest, this lack of 500 to 600 meters of thuriferous juniper, which are observed elsewhere at the same tier and have disappeared here (4).

4. L. Emberger, Les arbres du Maroc /The trees of Morocco/, 1938, p. 68.

Such a lacuna, expressing the decline of the vegetable cadre, perhaps suggests distant epochs when the upper Seksawa, more wooded at this altitude, could also sustain a more powerful life: precisely the one that it sustained in the fourteenth century. And here we are suddenly plunged, by a simple comment on the landscape, into the depths of history.

241 These lands of the Atlas are the most "constructed" of the lands of the Maghreb. The mark of man, let us repeat, quite naturally stands out there from even a summary examination of the vegetable horizons. /25/ In fact, it is profound. Almond trees, olive trees, cereals, and, to a lesser degree, walnut trees attest to his work. The wear and tear on the forest, the richness of the pasturage in comestible or, on the contrary, thorny varieties, the density of the associations of subspontaneous species: all that further postulates it.

182 241 311 Reciprocally, what is striking in him is, if one may say it, his geological adherence. Not that it is necessary to speak with respect to his particular success in adaptation. Many discordances between the natural conditions, his techniques, the use that he makes of them, and even his conception of life will arise from time to time in the account. But what it is impossible not to be struck by, at the first sight of the inhabitant, is the rigor with which he sticks to his rock. That literally. A structural determinism, one would say, has shaped the very form of his life. In many cases, the earthworks that cut the banks only utilize, fashion, and prolong the successive level stretches that erosion has started to sculpture in the bed of the river. At Bul'wân, Tuz'z'umt, Ilutjan, a. Wagenna, even Tabratjut, the tiering of the cultivations by levels reproduces this natural schema. Seen

/25 cont./

182 241 311 from above, the villages, whose terraces slope up the length of the incline in long and narrow series, recall exactly, with their uneven and yellow color, the terraces of cultivation which neighbor them. The illusion is complete at the time of tillage. The roof of beaten earth is not treated any differently than the soil. The technique that joins it to the soil in order to resist the rain, snow, and wind better is a technique of embanking, of blockading. The village is connected to the rock. But the ground itself is architecture.

The Ground

241 311 Cultivations on the roof, cultivations on the balcony, cultivations even in the street: these three metaphors, referring to the Seksawa land considered as a city, will be contradicted neither by the reality of things nor by the vision that the customary genius has of it.

133 The roof, these are the vast planes /Fr. plans/ that crown the middle and even the high reliefs and perch at about 2,000 meters, in the silence of the mountain pastureland and of the forest, the tilled lands of man. Here is a characteristic form of this part of the Atlas. Its weak horizontality contrasts with the energy of the surrounding folding. Whether it results from erosions prior to the Tertiary movement or, on the contrary, from later alterings, this is what geologists are discussing. Nevertheless, the thing is there, 241 with all its geographical and social effects. These planes are 233 used for pasturage and /26/ cultivation. The former succeeds the latter after the removal of the harvests, or appropriates vast domains. The high sown-fields are called Ibur, an Arab term that often occurs in the toponymy (and also the forms albur, ilburan, talburt, talburin, etc.). Above 2,000 meters, and higher and higher, rye prevails. To return to the words of our montagnards, it is the Pyrenean pla or the Alpine replat. A series of Chleuh /Shluh/ words, tasila, agoni, agg^{w}mi, agodal, evoke, perhaps semantically, the same idea and correspond to the same, chiefly pastoral reality. But the pastoral movement is collective, while agriculture in the highlands is the business of some. It

[Ait Lh'sen]
[Imt'ddan]

/50 cont./

181 The inhabitant, of warlike and frank character, offers a rich-
182 ness of custom, a legendary warmth, a pride in his traditions that
634 have not twisted into, as among the Idma, cunning and miserly
619 defenses. And this land provides us, together with the memory of a long succession of heroic coups de main, the one, still very recent, of a great political and bellicose figure, the "caïd" /51/ Lmokhtar, grandfather of the present chief. Divided by their Sekrat and Ibubanen vassals into two groups, one from above (Iwulla, Wanz'id'), the other from below (Awines, Buteghradin, etc.), the a. Lh'sen affirm, in their landed equilibrium, a unity that testifies, better than any legend, to a still-intact vitality. Military force, conservation of the ground, variety of crops are compounded with other traits, bravery, attachment to folklore, fine and pure physical type, in an engaging and deep-rooted synthesis.

On Both Sides of the Sanctuary

778 Having arrived at the Moyen /Middle/ Seksawa, here we are
361 as though inspired by the proximity of a holy place, Z'init'; and
619 of the national saint, Lalla Aziza. The country is ordered symmetrically around a ritual and social center. Upstream, the Imt'ddan, avengers and ministers of the saint, who installed them in the place of an ousted population, the a. Gasa; downstream, the parvis, which constitutes, on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of aggression and profanation, the ground of the
[128] a. Musa. Let us study the upstream, then the downstream, before touching on the sanctuary itself.

Cursed Lands: the Imt'ddan

133 Coming from the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran or from the Haut
101 Gedmiwa, the traveler passes over the col of Tamt'ddit at 2,200
634 meters. To his left, the forest of holm oaks. To his right, a
[137] massif culminating in the conical peak of the Tamjlocht (2,340
[233] meters) and the elevated plateaus of the Azur, studded with
[243] shelters of dry stone for the livestock and here and there, on a well-sheltered epaulement terrace, crops of rye and barley. The

/63 cont./

166 ancestry. It is to exist together, when one has come from so far,
829 when one would have so many reasons not to be here. Style,
one might say, is in the success of the adjustment, in its difficulty, sometimes even in its singularity. One does not pose as the handsome son from the Orient, but rather as the crafty little bastard who fits in his proper place.

166 There is a nuance whose analysis is difficult to push further
829 for the moment, under penalty of twisting it. But it /64/ thrusts
182 itself upon anyone who enters, with the montagnard, into this discussion on unity in the multiplicity of origins, which is the preoccupation, the pride, and the science of the citizen. Let us take care: one feels here, once again since the beginning of this investigation, the action of a synthesis that, in general, is not that of kinship, even fictive, but something more immediate, at the same time more subtle. The frequent contradiction between the name of the taqbilt and the diversity of provenances offers the best beginning for the problem.

First Case

634 /In the original source the following paragraph is printed in
613 small type./ Here is, for example, the a. H'adduyws. A
621 striking contradiction: the eponym is a historic personage whose
173 lineage has been affirmed for seven centuries in the oral tradi-
619 tion. But they split themselves up as follows:

/96 cont./

174 refractory ones of the great Moroccan history. Somehow or other it recombined them in the permanence of a name. It set against the decadence and the investment a flood of vitality drawn from the South of the Atlas.

The oldest chronicle, the local tradition, and recent observation are thus in agreement. All postulate, around a very small country, dimensions more largely Maghrebi. Everything leads one to recognize the work of the times in a system to which one might quite wrongly lend the immutability of its montagnard decor.

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Second Part
Exchanges Between the Group and the Natural Milieu

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• 182 /99/

I. Organization of the Seksawa Space

Readable in the landscape (1).

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1. At the opening of this chapter, I call upon the considerations of Vidal de Lablache on "L'homme, facteur géographique /Man, geographical factor/," Principes de géographie humaine /Principles of human geography/, 1922, p. 12; another great book, that of L. Febvre on La terre et l'évolution humaine /The earth and human evolution/, 1922. I must also cite the intuitive comments of J. Célérier, "Le paysage rural au Maroc /The rural landscape in Morocco/," Hesp., 1943, pp. 129 sq., as well as the article by G. Friedmann on "L'homme et le milieu naturel /Man and the natural milieu/," Ann. hist. soc., 1945, pp. 103 sq. Finally, my debt is large in regard to F. Braudel and the elegant and full pages that he devotes to the Mediterranean

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113 114 /footnote 1 continued/ mountains, La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II /The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world at the time of Philip II/, 1949, pp. 5 sq.

182 three relations characterize the economy of these rural societies. First the composition of their natural cadre: a mountainous basin opening on the plain; then the artificial circulation of their waters from ground to ground; finally, the hibernal movement of their herds.

The Plain-Mountain Relation

121 This first relation, well known in human geography, can we put it here as one usually does, that is to say, in terms of complementarity? Needs and products of the mountain would find their counterpart in those of the plain. Stock-raising and horticulture versus cereal cultivation. But it would then be necessary to agree that, beside so many traits of an already mature and diverse life of exchanges, others exist for the Atlas, and not the least ones, whose archaism and apparent absurdity belie this fine division of labor. For example, the onerous cultivations of barley on benches, a paradox for the economist, who compares their net cost with their use value. Therefore a complementarity is far from taking account of all aspects. Notably two which express another, truly Maghrebi fact: the contrast between a quasi-insular life of the cantons and an intense and relatively well-equipped economic circulation.

619 It is true that tradition joins to the montagnard entity a piedmont entity: this band of the Dir, which in the zone that concerns us, Mez'ud'a, Dwiran, Seksawa, Nfifa, and -- perhaps improperly -- Mtugga, prevails immediately at the North base of the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 139]

/134 cont./

221 241 82 [539] also the month of retribution: ighli-d unamar f-taffa n-yan iskummern, "the unlucky star haunts the grindstone of the lazy." A moralizing adage that does not deceive: everyone knows that, even in the irrigated country, the fortune of the meteors still conditions in great part the life of the vegetation. Beyond the dryness and the water, it is the wind that scatters the almond blossoms; the mist that brings on the fumagine of the olive tree, without speaking of the hatching of animal parasites.

221 241 171 Above all, this account is interested in retracing the unfolding of the campaign with the succession of the different activities. It is striking that the comparison of such an agricultural calendar with those that our North African agronomy sometimes establishes (1)

1. Cf. notably Rivière and Lecq, Traité pratique d'agriculture pour le N. de l'Afrique /Practical treatise on agriculture for the North of Africa/, 1928, t. II, pp. 401 sq., on the calendar of the North African farmer, and p. 578 sq. (agricultural generalities on the region).

reveals, bearing in mind the particularity of a montagnard milieu, 221 241 182 many concordances. This particularity draws up, according to altitude, the succession of dates suitable for each crop, for each harvest. It divides the register in two by the distinction between the early and late modes. What precision and even subtlety! The different terms of the system are articulated and fitted in among superposed cantons. They permit the barley harvested in a. Abdella to be sown in Idma, and the peasant of Iguntar to reap for others for money, before reaping for himself. Another "vertical liaison" among cantons that our chapter on the organization of Seksawa space neglected.

241 /142 cont./
Although one cannot /143/ calculate it, beyond doubt an enormous increase of density characterizes, in relation to the plains economy, that of the mountains.

A concentration of work and of life, the will marking everything, a deliberate agronomy, sharpening the ancestral practices by a reasoning capable of evaluating the action of factors and causes -- such aspects are frequent and decisive. But they are [184] not observed uniformly in all the cantons. If the hydraulics furnishes a criterion convenient for classifying these small societies, other factors compete there which are not found everywhere in • 182 the same degree. Their ideal union would make this montagnard 241 an economic being perfectly adapted to his milieu, who would squeeze from it, by livestock breeding and tillage, the tree and the garden, every resource possible. But there is nothing of that. Adaptation of the group to its natural milieu, realization of equilibria, employing an economy propitious to a great history, which other aptitudes of these societies would postulate: all that has remained at a low, precarious level, or rather has consolidated in the regression. Why?

Creation of Soils, Collection of Water

242 The basic work in the mountains is the preservation and even 312 the creation of soils. It is mixed with another essential task, that 128 of the regularization of the water. Let us therefore examine simultaneously these two activities, which the native agronomy does not distinguish.

171 In a completely different milieu, that of the pre-Saharan plateaus, a peristyle bordering on the S. this Mediterranean world that Romania energetically made advance into Africa, such techniques have been remarkably described (1).

1. J. Baradez, Fossatum Africae, 1949, pp. 174 sq.

/158 cont./

312 423 171 is constituted by the auction of water, of which Brunhes has given, for the Valencian Elche, so strong a description (1).

1. Op. laud., p. 98. Other examples cited by Joaquin Costa and others, Derecho consuetudinario y economia popular de España /Consuetudinary law and popular economy of Spain/, Barcelona, 1902, t. II: the water market at Alicante, pp. 135 sq. The hila also bears the name of dula, evidently Arabic: dawla = Chl. /Shluh/ tawala. For Spain itself, perhaps it would be interesting to compare the strange measure of irrigation called hila or hilo with what our Mez'ud'a call lme ref and the a. Abdella lmcerf. The first give it a precise definition: it is "module of irrigation whose full use can be assured by the unit of habitual agricultural work," to wit, the work of one man in two days or of two men in one day.

312 182 On the contrary, what is striking in the Atlas is a prodigious organization. A discordance is even manifest between the social rhythms almost perfect, or postulating perfection, which preside over the division, and the mediocrity of the material, such as the tools. The nice equilibrium, the consummate science of the distribution contrast with the precariousness of this whole hydraulic system. The disproportion between the social constructions and the material techniques bursts forth. It surprises all the more the "European" or the "modern," whose analysis generally overlooks the meticulous harmony of the former. Thus the prestigious work by Brunhes nowhere discloses, in the section that he devotes to the Maghreb, collective modalities in the administration of the water (2).

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2. Op. laud., pp. 73, 251. Is it not significant that, inversely to the preoccupations of the

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/footnote 2 continued/ French geographer, Joaquin Costa, Colectivismo agrario en /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ España /Agrarian collectivism in Spain/, Madrid, 1915, should give a large place to the community traits (pp. 532 sq.)? Independently of the tendencies of the work, the atmosphere of the institution seems to be rendered better in the Spanish descriptions.

On the plane of techniques themselves, it has missed an /159/ important problem, that of the utilization of accidental water. It seems that one would find in the Maghreb, in the conservatories such as the Atlas or the oases, the explanation of forms applicable to the whole Mediterranean basin, and notably to the single European sector where they have kept some fullness: this Spain which, in that, has shown itself to be obstinately faithful to the heritage of the Mussulman Occident.

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In the part of Morocco studied here, is the disproportion between the social edifice and its material substrate a trait of origin or of decadence? Does this contrast between so perfect an organization (1)

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1. Whence the inextricable difficulty of the litigations for the division of the water in the regime of European administration. Examples abound, which will not be cited. To keep us on the scientific plane, the best description that we have found and which moreover alludes to a neighboring sector, that of the Idaw Mh'mud, is given in an unpublished work (Arch. d'Imintanout) by Lieut. Oqbani on La législation de l'eau dans les tribus d'Argana /Water legislation in the Argana tribes/: attentive observation, describing curious procedures of drawing lots, but only at the stage of the result; the author seems to have missed

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121 182 114 [171] /footnote 1 continued/ completely any reference to organization by ikhs. For the Algerian S., I found valuable notes in D. Moulias, L'eau dans les oasis sahariennes (organisation hydraulique, régime juridique) /Water in the Saharan oases (hydraulic organization, juridical regime)/, 1927, where one will note suggestive details on the unending conflicts -- conflicts of the blind and the deaf -- between a legalist regulation and the customary reality in the Algerian S. in the course of the nineteenth century.

121 182 and a total module which, for the Seksawa, does not appear to exceed 250 ls. for several hundred kilometers of séguia and some twelve thousand inhabitants point to authenticity or, on the contrary, indicate the effects of history?

Modes and Manurings

241 184 Tillage differs from the bottom to the top of the mountains and by tools and by modes.

241 412 184 First, by the tools. The hoe, agelzim, plays an increasingly larger role from downstream to upstream. Its domain is horticulture, the intercalary modes, and in that case parcels too exiguous to permit the evolutions of the swing plow. At Bul^{c}wân, it intervenes only as an instrument of finicky work on the edges, or else in places where the plow, coming and going, is obliged to leave certain corners in order to turn. In a. Mh'nd, on the contrary, it is the required complement of the plow, so that the tillage is usually done by two together, one holding the stilt, the other the tool in hand.

241 407 492 184 [162] In Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, the classic harnessing of two beasts, zzuja, is used. But in the montagnard domain, there is no more than one beast, /160/ lferd. Yet it is always the man who plows, and never the woman, as is done in the far Sous. A statistical sample gives for each of these two forms of harnessing, zzuja

/171 cont./

121 /footnote 3 continued/ géographie humaine, 1922, p. 105), are preponderant. Cf. op. cit., pp. 108 sq. That implies varieties and inequalities of level.

For the dialogue between natural milieu and human milieu does not always end in agreement. There can be discordance, mutual prejudice. All rural economy amounts to a certain type of collaboration between man and plant associations. To judge it, it is necessary to define the effects of this collaboration on each of the partners. In the most favorable case, progress of the group /172/ on one hand, increase in biogeographical potential on the other mark the success of the type; mediocrity or retreat of the former, decline of the latter express, on the contrary, failure. But things are rarely so contrasted. Generally, an equilibrium more or less fertile, more or less ruinous, is established between the two terms.

121 But here we are in the Old World, bordering the oldest clas-
182 sical history, of which our Maghrebis are the frontiersmen. They
171 are late with a revolution, the industrial revolution. But neither do their techniques present any radical difference from those of the Mediterranean montagnards, the Andorrans, for example (1),

182 1. We choose this example not only as a case
171 "of montagnard analogy," but also because
121 the careful studies of Brutails, which we cite
114 from time to time, permit comparison up to the matter of custom.

In the Roussillon Middle Ages the kitchen garden exists. But sometimes the gardens are all grouped in one quarter called horta (J.-A. Brutails, Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au Moyen Age /Study of the condition of the rural populations of Roussillon in the Middle Ages/, 1891, p. 20). Cf. ibid., pp. 17 sq., the former preponderance of barley (with rye and millet, as here) in

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/footnote 1 continued/ victual cultivation. Other "archaic" Mediterranean traits might interest one in a comparison with our milieu: M. Sorre, Les Pyrénées méditerranéennes, the insufficience of hoed crops, being reduced to the bean in Ampurdan (p. 240), certain inadaptations (p. 205), etc.

To come back to North Africa, it is necessary to note a great difference between the formula of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ and that of the Kabylie /Kabylia/. The Kabyle has a kitchen garden: these thimizar, "close by the habitations" (Hanoteau and Letourneux, La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles, 1872 ed., t. I, p. 414, and also p. 422, where an interesting distinction from the "irrigated vegetable gardens," placed very far from the village, is introduced). Is the term tamazirt to be compared with "manure," amazir, and should it be translated strictly as "land likely to be manured"? This is what would be conveyed by the Arabic translation that the jurists of the Sous give for it, because of a pedantic pun, one might say: ad-dimna. However that may be, E. Laoust observes, Siwa, 1932, p. 274, that in the general sense of "country" the Berbère /Berber/ world is divided into two zones: tamart for the eastern and Zénète dialects of the N., tamazirt for the Çanhâja and Maçmûda.

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nor does the profusion of rites lock them into a material inertia, like certain black peoples. Then on what bases is one to judge their system? (2).

2. A consultation with the best agronomists convinces us that up to now this question has never been the object of theoretical developments, at least for North Africa. On a general plane, cf.

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/footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

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1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

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433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds [182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

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233 The flock expresses a living equilibrium between man and coun-
182 try. From which arises the fact that it is endowed with moral values, and probably ritual ones.

312 Secondly, the native techniques are concerned with irrigation. But there, as has been seen, they depend on collection rather than hydraulic creation. The energy and the shrewdness of the system for collecting the wild waters, directing them, and administering them fail and resign before any attempt tried in order to make new resources appear. It is not the lack of success in this /174/ difficult domain that should strike us here, but the relative inferiority that is revealed by it in relation to the art that the same people manifest in leading the precious liquid for some distance and according to tactics whose success astonishes us. This art of circulation carried to incredible lengths becomes no more than inertia and inconstancy in the creation.

245 As for the fruit tree (1),

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1. Vidal, Principes ..., 1922, p. 83, sees an old Mediterranean idea in the primacy of shrubby cultivations. But he sees just as profoundly an even more archaic type in the arboriculture in the dry, which corresponds here to the almond tree, to the carob tree.

the native poorly succeeds in dissociating it from the forest. Certain species, which come by themselves, or are considered such, put one on the wrong scent. The general antiquity of the planting, the irregularity resulting from unnamed ailments or parasites, from the water, the wind, from chance, or from the favor of occult powers make arboriculture, at least in what concerns the walnut, almond, and especially the carob, a resource as little constructed as that of the forest. It is not the same for the olive tree, which here, as elsewhere on the Mediterrannean periphery, has its civic and almost moral value. But if one compares its techniques, the tools utilized, to what they are elsewhere, in the Tunisian Sahel, for example, the same impression of deficiency results for the Atlas.

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233 241 182 Primacy of livestock breeding, arboriculture of gathering, irrigation that is a collection and administration rather than a hydraulic one: the important fact is the hierarchy according to which the system is conceived. It is remarkable that these archaic peasant societies, the most authentically sedentary of all the Maghreb, the most obstinately stuck to the soil, and in which we sometimes seek the vestige of what in other epochs could have been a rural life more widely master of the North African plains, are concerned above all with the flock and its periodic rhythms. This creator of soils, this subtle administrator of water, is a routine irrigator, mediocre cereal-cultivator, evasive arboriculturalist, an even worse market-gardener. By a kind of paradox, his technicality, which asserts itself fully in the difficult problems of the constitution of the soil and the distribution of the water, slackens in putting to work the resources thus released. It asserts itself, one might say, in inverse proportion to a logic of adding value.

121 171 [233] Can one try to explain this pastoral primacy? It is known that, lost in the darkness of time, even in the Europe of the open field /the words in italics are in English in the original source/, it is a phenomenon of this sort that would provide the explanation for rural structures still characteristic. In the case with which we /175/ are concerned is it then simple prehistoric survival? Such an explanation poses more problems than it resolves. We shall not stop there. Similarly, would the problem be advanced by invoking the existence of a montagnard character, to relate it to traits of the same genre observable in the Alps and Pyrenees? In this case, it is no longer by an excess of hypothesis, but by too much modesty that the answer would be deficient. An explanation more appropriate for the milieu studied would attribute the contrasts of this peasantry to its hesitation between Mediterranean traits, preserved by the altitude, and African desert influences which press in on it from all sides (1).

1. Another "Berbère" /Berber/ montagnard milieu, that of the Ahaggar, likewise

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/footnote 1 continued/ accumulates Mediterranean traits at high altitudes, and frankly tropical traits lower. This dissociation of the plant milieu obviously implies a difficult and divided economy, and postulates the historical event.

Although the effort of the men has constantly conspired with the first of the two terms, the second is revealed perhaps by some of the traits that surprise the observer. As one sees, we are excluding, as even more hypothetical, the objections that the agronomy of the manuals might inspire. There is nothing more arbitrary -- or premature -- than to try to evaluate, in a milieu as little deciphered by modern experimentation, the yield of
243 such-and-such a practice. The so-striking paradox of these lands sown with barley or maize in irrigated tiers -- a cereal cultivation in flower pots -- is doubtlessly explained by history. It is a trait of geographical repression. And, besides, barley is the least demanding of the large-scale cereals, not only in module of water, but in the annual distribution of this module. Its choice, supposing it deliberate, would have nothing irrational in it. Barley
(242) has the shortest cycle, which agrees very well with the necessity, imposed by the lack of space, to force two campaigns into one on the same soil. Finally, the deficit in barley, that is, in "bread," is the fright that everyone tries to avert more or less, without ever
• (182) succeeding completely. The love of cereals is thus not only alimentary foresight. It is also a social precaution, tool of equality.

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Unfortunately, the vulnerability of the native equilibrium is great (2).

2. The modern balance of a region like that of the French Alps is the combined resultant of a better opening to exchanges, hence elimination of the archaic primacy of cereals, of a reciprocal arrangement of agriculture and livestock

/175 cont./

182 171 /footnote 2 continued/ breeding, of the field and meadow, and finally of industrialization. Cf. R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 52. This last factor reacts even on the use of the geological givens: thus it is that our Cantal knows an industry of enameled lava, pozzuolanas, /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ pumice powder, phonolites, prismatic basalts, kieselguhr, and even volcanic sands. In other French mountains, it is in the direction of a class of artisans (clockmaking, cooperage, turner's shop, forge) that the populations seek resources complementary to the agricultural activity. Cf. the very interesting collection of communications made at the I^er Congrès national de la Vie rurale en Montagne /First National Congress on Rural Mountain Life/, Paris, March, 1952. And also, for the Pyrenean milieu, whose comparison with the Atlas milieu would not be absurd, the collection of the Annals de la Fédération Pyrénéenne d'économie montagnarde (Toulouse), the consultation of which was valuable for us.

178 182 It withstands neither war nor peace. The /176/ demographic thrust and the expansion of the flocks, the first resulting from the advances of public hygiene, the second, from increased security in the exercise of civil rights, are in the process of ruining the country. Deforestation has had a role over the lapse of time embraced by a man's memory. The solution is certainly neither in the coercion of the flock nor in Malthusianism. It is in the pursuit of a new equilibrium. Another blemish, no less incontestable, in 243 the traditional economy is its monotony. What poverty of these 182 soles, reduced to barley and maize! It is, if one may say it, a monoculture with two terms. The absurdity of such a combination of words renders well the depressing and ultimately ruinous effect of the system. It is not impossible that it imparts to all local life a contagious feeling of boredom and almost of despair.

[Ait Mh'nd]

311 /181 cont./
103 dome stretching from these rocks to the Ameznir, and which bears the name of Un-an, Tag^{w}d'ayt, etc.

423 On each of these quarters, all moreover privately appropri-
311 ated, is affirmed the vocation of each ikhs, just as on the irri-
[613] gated. But the distance, the difficulty of transport, and doubt-
[578] lessly also the character of confines that, even on the scale of these cantons, these expanses offer in relation to the density, to the proximity, and, if I may venture to say it, to the "presence" of the irrigated ground, all of that results in the fact that the rivalries between the powerful are given a free course there, more or less excluding the weak. But the latter are aware of their
[103] rights. In August, 1950, interrogating with J. Dresch a modest livestock-breeder met on the side of the source, we were able to note that he enumerated, as his land right bearing on all the albur quarters, the following names:

-- periphery of the crater: Anammer Udrar (on the Zkkat'), Inwalen (on the Awrir Iwiggin);
-- in the direction of the Ṭouban: Griighrad'en, Anammer n-a. Lghachi, Unan (toward the Tizi Unluf), Talâint Umeẓnir, Ag^{w}ni n-Ish'aq, Akhbu^{w}wagaywar, Albur i-ysekni;
-- finally, in the thalweg: Imd'rar, Az'ru n-tmedda.

That is, for a very small country, a dozen quarters where, if one may say it, his vocation as owner and especially, in the case in point, as claimant will be exercised; this "right" ends up by constituting a sort of permanent blackmail of the poor.

423 Let us say, in anticipating a little, that this rule has been
• 182 cross-checked many times. It presents itself to the people of the country with the clearness of an organic law. It unites the life of the group and guarantees its equilibrium, through the judicial and moral tensions that, no less than the fruit of the fields, form its vitality, its virility, and ensure it against the precariousness and the perils of mountain life.

[Ibuban]
[Imt'ddan]

/209 cont./

182 On the other hand, this driven-back economy has sought in a very instructive fashion to survive: it is an albur /see p. 38/ island in the mountains, an island in dry mountains, a corner, one might say, of the Anti-Atlas. An equilibrium has been sought, not in the obstinate hydraulic work, because there is no water, but in the nonchalant exploitation of the almond tree and the opuntia. In sum, recourse to the harvest. Correlatively, the rhythm of life here is much less active than in the neighboring
181 valleys. Long chats in the /210/ sun, on the plaza of the timezgida, inertia and routine have deeply tarnished the local character. To that are added other characteristics, resulting from history, and the ensemble of which makes up a physiognomy of decadence. The communal order does not completely govern the division of the ground. The pasturage is appropriated. The absence of irrigation resources has driven this mountain population to a steppe culture. It is doubtlessly not by chance that, contrary to the atmosphere of the other cantons, inequality should have arisen from the inclemency of the conditions of life. This poor canton contains several "rich ones" and is still today, by an apparent paradox, the one that provides some of the biggest shares of the tax. Poverty and defeat here have broken up the communal order based on equality and obstinacy, and these miseries are only incompletely compensated for by the mysterious agricultural power of the "old people."

...F. Imt'ddan

613 [634] [166] The 4 Imt'ddan ikhs-s have swarmed from a metropolis, the present Tamt'ddit, to spread over a vast canton. Territorial expansion and social segmentation go hand in hand. Still today the tie between people and groups is by no means that of habitat by villages, but that of classification in one or another of the ikhs-s of origin. Nevertheless, the proliferation of the latter is starting to obscure the consciousness of the ensemble, and at the outset unanimity on the balance of the present subdivisions is no longer to be had.

/224 cont./

171 /footnote 1 continued/ express an exigency of internal equilibrium. But let us take this isolated rapprochement only for what it would be: merely the bait for more extended controls. (Cf. Archives of the Sénatus Consulte at Aris.)

128 These cross-checkings /225/ thus remain to be done. Only they will be able to infirm or confirm, and consequently to endow with generality or not, the structural law that it is believed has been uncovered here.

121 The "Parcellary Orchestration" (1)

[114] 1. This expression is taken up again, while apologizing for its paradoxical aspect, from the article of 1948, where we set forth our first verifications.

181 Let us return to the Seksawa of the High valleys.
423 Their whole life is marked by a very precise division bearing
613 on three orders of facts. The ground is divided into individual-
[805] ized quarters. Time is scanned by the succession of "turns" or-
[312] ganized for irrigation, and the latter is not only an essential
[592] economic base, but a collective symbol, fixing the most vehe-
ment aspirations of these rural people. The group is divided into ikhs-s, themselves distributed in conjugal families, but preserving a role, or rather assuming attributions. There prevails among these three orders of things an exact correspondence.
182 Easily decipherable in the present state, and despite degradations
423 and mutations, it inspires and maintains the deportment of the
613 montagnard, for whom it is at the same time an inveterate or-
[671] ganization, guarantee of persistence, and ideal of legitimacy.
[421] The local land law in this part of the Atlas has no aim other than

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/225 cont./

to safeguard, against all causes of disturbance, and against individual life in general, these correlations.

It is thus explained that, to the astonishment of the agronomist, the order of irrigation is gentilitial. Contrary to what economy of effort and the elementary concern to reduce losses due to infiltration and evaporation would impose, it is not the piece of terrain made up of an ensemble of contiguous parcels that will profit from the turn for water, but the discontinuous domain of an ikhs: as dispersed, as distant on occasion as its fields may be, on that day the irrigation must skip over important intervals in order to go from one to the other. This discontinuity itself is the rule, because, in each of the quarters, each ikhs must have its share. All sorts of conservative mechanisms thereupon come to limit the possibilities of landed-property mutations: sales or successions, /226/ violent dispossessions. In the present state still, wherever the ground is flourishing, the techniques well preserved, the commune lively, this rotation of the water and this distribution of the parcels tend toward perfection. Whence it comes that the classic form of the property is neither the ample piece lying together nor even the cluster of neighboring fields, but a patrimonial sampling. The average cultivator has a hundred parcels at his disposal, each of which is sometimes reduced to a few square meters. The formula is not viable from an economic point of view. But what does it matter to the montagnard? He has, according to the expression of the native documents, "his name in every quarter." A distributive ideal is thus attained. It is also an ideal of variety. The parcels are defined by their fitting in among those of others having rights. The smallness of the areas helping, their limitation is not material, but personal, not topographical, but anthroponymic. That emerges clearly from local writings, where they are defined by the name of the quarter and of the four borderers, without any other precision of boundaries. The appurtenance to the ikhs and the insertion in such and such a quarter provide sufficient identification. A paradoxical trait in a peasant society where boundary conflicts are traditionally frequent.

/231 cont./

121 between North African societies. This explanation of collective psychology is worth what it is worth: precisely quite little undoubtedly, as explanation. But it is not negligible for the interpretation of the /232/ facts by their sentimental context. It is certainly indispensable today as commentary of traits from observation, such as the acuity of the landed-property litigation and the depth of the working of the mechanisms of patrimonial equilibrium. Finally, it might react on a theory of value, peculiar to the milieu, if ever our knowledge of North Africa included such research on it ...

"The Earth and Human Evolution"

Here let us stop the analysis of these economic structures. Besides one could not further develop the significance or draw conclusions from it without presuming too much from the rest of the inquiry. Whatever rules, whatever comportments correspond to this rural order, this is what the study of the religious and juridical institutions that it supports will extricate.

182 But here and now one thing is to be emphasized, because it relates to the peculiarity of the milieu or at least is expressed there with a force still intact: this is the precision of the relations between the group and the landscape. A historic constancy unequaled in the rest of the rural Maghreb, the richness of the toponymy and its agrarian correspondences augment the methodological import of such evidence. It is in fact not only the exchanges between this man and his ground that these relations govern, but a good part of the very ethics of this society. Their force of instigation, of inspiration, and, at the same time, of restraint is such that they not only tolerate individual or collective initiative, but demand it. In fact this is what maintains, over a space thus organized, the circulation of beings, rights, and things. Gradually, the economic life, because it obeys these correlations, appears as a factor of topographical animation. The more so because it was under this aspect -- displacement of the herds, lines of irrigation, rhythms of concentration and expansion, divisibility of the country -- that it first struck us.

619 /241 cont./
634 cantons complex rules govern the validity of the notarial writing
671 itself. Thus, in Nfifa, only the act drawn up by native t't'olba
184 or North Demsira or Mtugga is good. Otherwise it is no longer acceptable.

619 Mechanism of cellular defense, one might say. And also
182 diversified code of exchanges between cells. Legislating for it-
184 self, protected from its neighbors by invalidations, restrictions, or stipulations, surrounded by this type of armor that the doubling of the procedural rate constitutes, the group certainly, and although its law differs but little, poses as an individual.

184 It will thus be legitimate to speak of the Seksawa system, original part of the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. And if it is still impossible, or merely premature, to define clearly the relations of this originality to the surrounding originalities or to the matter of the ensemble, one will not, for all that, let oneself be caught by this methodological grief that every investigator of the North African institution feels at first before the immensity of the tasks and the insufficiency of the materials.

/242/ Presence of Islam in the Law

779 There is, moreover, a certain angle from which -- paradoxi-
671 cally enough, since indeed more ample -- the problem has been not only scrutinized by Islamic and European science (1),

1. One thinks especially of the studies of M. Morand, L. Milliot, R. Maunier, G.-H. Bousquet.

but experimentally felt, lived by the foreigner. It is that of the relations between such-and-such "customary law" and the Mussulman law. In fact, we believe, the political or cultural discordancy of the upper valleys is far from revealing any rupture in the moral or geographic continuity of the Maghrebi societies. The Mussulman law, acting everywhere, albeit unequally, on native factors, combines with them in a diversity that nevertheless is

/251 cont./

241 One of the most curious ones, and which, something to re-
796 member, is celebrated without even the pretext of a name, takes
[178] place on the peak that dominates the holy place of Z'init', the Tamjlocht. Each year, in March, a certain number of Imt'ddan families (2)

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2. The rite of the Tamejlocht is incumbent only on the people of Tinwalin and on the ikh-s who have emigrated from there: a Waferyad', a Uchikar, a Wakraray. The people of the "metropole" Tamt'ddit do not participate in it. It is to be noted that it is the people of yet another village, Tagunit, who are ministers of the rite of Lalla Aziza. The Imt'ddan being visibly associated with the cult of the latter, and very probably in place of more ancient elements, perhaps the a. Gasa, this sharing of competency causes difficult problems, touching on a differentiated structure of the group.

delegate in turn a personage who, solemnly led to the summit, is fettered there, then left alone. The procession has not returned to the village before the actor, freed by supernatural intervention, also rejoins his parvis. This rite of the fettered, whose character [182] of collective magic is not doubtful, visibly has a naturist function. [183] The notions of scapegoat (perhaps a memory of former /252/ human sacrifice) and of spring augury are combined here in a synthesis of vivid coloring. What the fettered one thinks and feels, if one could obtain a sufficiently sincere account from the hero of this annual miracle, would be of great interest.

000 Alas, Maghrebi ethnology does not take part in the collection of documents so profound. In addition to an almost clinical complexity of experimentation, a refined possession of the language, sustained attention in order to grasp the psychological demarcation between individual emotion and group conventions, an almost

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
796 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patrimonial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the individual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

796 /293 cont./
782 who will sanctify new kitchens at home with it, a single little piece sufficing to bestow the benefic effluvium on a whole dish.

796 Despite the atmosphere of apprehension, a diagram of wor-
782 ship allows itself, as can be seen, to be recognized. Determina-
182 tion of the minister: he belongs to a family of the Imt'ddan, so
[823] close to the saint, to whom they attribute among other miracles the distribution of the springs among their villages. Association of an accessory agent who is precisely the vehicle of orthodoxy: the marabout of Assttif, whose intervention, it is not useless to recall, is necessarily quite late, since his zaouia goes back only to the seventeenth century. The veritable ministers here are this pack of individuals, associates and rivals at the same time in the dispute with blows for the conquest of a hallowed parcel. They are no longer, as in the rite of July, collective members of the tribal gathering, but volunteers. The usual techniques of collective exaltation, contrasting, in their tumultuary individualization, with the official order of July, stand out splendidly here. The real paroxysm evidently results from the violence with which the faithful hack away and tear at the victim beneath the blows.

[783] The first interpretation, one of our own making, is naturally rationalist and modest: the people would be atoning for their sins through the mortification of blows with sticks. But it is more precise to relate this rite to so many other agrarian rites calling for /294/ struggles or violence (1).

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1. Cf. concerning rites of conflict, bibliography in W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 224, n. 39, and description, p. 201. Flagellation is often linked to the idea of scapegoat. Cf. J. G. Frazer, Le bouc émissaire /The scapegoat/, P. Sayn tr., 1925, p. 234, who cites Westermarck (p. 235) concerning Moroccan rites. In a domain close to ours, the I. T'anan, R. Montagne has given a vivid description of the combat occasioned by the musem of the a. Tinkert. He

/294 cont./

796 782 182 171 783

/footnote 1 continued/ compares it rightly to the simulated struggle indulged in at the mwuggar of sidi Ah'med u Musa. In. /unpublished/ note on the Idaw T'anan, arch. of Imintanout, pp. 38, 39. Let us cite finally, without a hidden motive of comparison, and, if one wishes, for simple "curiosity," this description of old Egyptian ritual: "At night, thousands of persons, armed with sticks, keep watch around the temple; some want to keep anyone from reinstating in his naos a statue of the god ..., others want, on the contrary, to facilitate the entrance of the god. The actors, who are beneath the portico, deny access to the temple; the crowd, running to the assistance of the god, attacks them; they defend themselves; a violent combat with blows from sticks ensues, and many skulls are cracked." (A. Moret, Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne /The Nile and the Egyptian civilization/, 1926, p. 294.)

796 782 182 [785] [783]

Flagellation even intervenes there at times, linked to the ideas of the scapegoat and purification. Not far away in the Atlas, at sidi Brahim near Asni, a camel is similarly slaughtered and skinned by the faithful, who tear at its flesh under the blows. At sidi Abdallah u H'sayn, of Tameçluh't, the head of the animal is carried away and fought over on the run by two rival parties (2).

2. Observations kindly communicated by G. Delaye.

Finally, the communional aspect which the distribution of the meat suggests (3).

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3. An aspect which moreover is more pronounced in other North African rites, for example, that of the Kabyle saint Sidi ᶜAli n-Funas at Tizi Ouzou.

/294 cont./

796 782 182 and which in other ceremonies a laic or municipal climate attenuates or eliminates, bursts out here in all its zeal. In the region one would find such a force only at the October musem of sidi Âli u Brahim of the Idaw T'anan: the dispute is unleashed, not around a skinned victim, but around a paste to be eaten collectively.

In sum, the Mlîd of Z'init', with an exceptional clearness and richness, comes under the jurisdiction of these rites by which rural societies perform "an uninterrupted series of concentrations and diffusions" (4)

4. Definition by H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice /Essay on the nature and function of the sacrifice/," Ann. soc., t. II, p. 114.

of the sacred, with the aim of assuring the continuation of the life of things and of drawing closer the relations of this life with that of the group. A difficulty, however, and even an anomaly. Not so much that the ceremony assumes an Islamic coloring; that is only normal. But how is one to explain that it has been dissociated from the July ceremony? The latter has remained purely civic and naturist. Its content has become impoverished, thinner. On one hand, seasonal insertion and official intervention of the groups. On the other, patronage of the Prophet, justifying, in an intense, ecstatic debauch, an old rite which is at the same time agrarian, expiatory, and /295/ communional. When did this dissociation intervene? The feast of yulyuz, also called musem or even muslem, would have been instituted less than a century ago, as other Seksawa musem-s have been subsequently. However that may be, the incontestable fact lies in the contrast between the two ceremonies and this kind of division of labor which operates between them. Let us take note of this characteristic, amenable to these meticulous balances or divisons that one finds so frequently in Chleuh /Shluh/ society, each time that it compounds with something that is not itself. In the case at hand, there is moreover a

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796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

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1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

796 195 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle

796 551 171

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121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
175 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

771 /312 cont./
Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

776 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individ-
792 ual forms. This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

592 /370 cont./
/conjugal family/, that constitutes the basis of the distributions as of all the tumultuary or accountable manifestations essential to this life.

613 182 The role of the ikhs stands out at the very least from its present functions: primary distributor of water and, if I may venture to say it, of baraka; member of a hierarchy of qualifications reserving for such-and-such a lineage the right to undertake important actions with common value, which involve the collectivity, its soil, its past and its future. Its function exists primarily in all that the course of the group respects in the way of necessities, more or less clearly felt, in accord with nature, in connivance with the kosmos and its unwritten laws. Therefore war, politics, the agrarian order, and in a certain measure holiness, justice, or poetry are a gentilitial affair. These attributes are well mixed. We do not know which among them go back to the past or result from restorations or adjustments. One of course would be tempted to consider the magico-religious functions as belonging to the oldest substratum (1).

613 182 114 121 695

1. P. Huvelin, "Magie et droit individuel /Magic and individual law/," Ann. Soc., X, p. 12, shows that the repression of misdemeanors in a society dominated by familial representations /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ still remains religious in accent and commonly assumes the form of the ordeal. The mad exuberance of the sworn law in the old Maghrebi societies certainly evokes the existence of ensembles that, in this case, are agnatic ensembles. One has the explanation that, in Marcy's eyes, this aspect constituted a criterion of archaism, that is, according to him, Berbère /Berber/ authenticity. According to this view, the public law would then consist in organizing relations between

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/footnote 1 continued/ familial groups within the political society. The fact is that the oath often has this aspect. And that is so true that, the group growing larger into the taqbilt, for example, it would be other tariffs that then function in the cojuratio. But one is also struck by the traits of decline or retreat of a familial law thus profiled, or, what amounts to the same thing, by its unequal resistance to the legalistic Mussulman influences, from which, in short, the public law in the strict sense of the term has much better extricated itself. Of the two, it is the latter that has had the major influence, to the point, undoubtedly, of reacting upon the other.

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/371/ But on this same plane there are two recoils, unless they are original lacunae. First of all, let us repeat, this society with ancestors has never reflected in its hagiology what is reflected in other systems similarly organized. Another negative remark: in this penal law, so well attested to during the four centuries that one can study it, sanction is always of public order, without the notion of private vengeance or of responsibility of the ikhs ever cropping out in it. This is important. One of the best studies of Berbère /Berber/ law, that of Hanoteau and Letourneux, has given much space to completely contrary aspects. A sharp difference with the western Haut Atlas stands out from what these authors say proceeds from a law of the family as opposed to that of the village: all these juridico-sentimental motive forces that the reqba, the ʿanfya are, all this code of virile honor that occupies such an important place among the Kabyles (1).

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1. M. Daumas and M. Fabar, La grande Kabylie /Great Kabylia/, 1847, already contrast the vendetta to the dîâ, as signs of two radically different systems, p. 35. These

/386 cont./

776 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Âmer u H'ad-
179 dô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Sek-
779 sawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and
182 undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated [212] in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

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/387 cont./ formation of large ensembles and broad styles, rather than the spontaneity of youth.

Among its traits, there are some archaic ones. And not only on the plane where one ordinarily looks for -- and finds -- the one of magic or of folklore, but on the plane of the law itself, a matter indeed more irrecusable. First of all, the notion of an agrarian order with ritual sanctions, with magico-religious defenses, survives in some techniques of immediate settlement, some attitudes generative of powers, of movements, or of juridical states. It is probably thus for what touches on the oldest economic foundations: relations for irrigation or pasturing, landowner equilibrium of the ikhs-s, exchanges with the communal sacred. More on the surface, an agonistic reality is expressed in the judicial joust (1)

1. J. Berque, "Documents anciens sur la coutume immobilière des Seksawa /Ancient documents on the landed-property customs of the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1948, pp. 399 sq.

and in the very details of the procedural play. But only its expression is individual. It stems in fact from the same archaism upon which are founded the pacts of mystic patronage, seasonal feasts, and the ritual disputes for which they furnish the occasion: thus the auction for the sacrificial meats, still very recognizable under a cloak of notarial law.

But it is this elaboration that leads. A vigorous synthesis takes place at the communal echelon. It suppresses all the rest into incoherence and discontinuity. Collective tension has become /388/ dialectic of litigants. Relations with the sacred take the contractual path. The agrarian order is maintained only by resorting to contentious debate. Islamic schemas dominate the successoral material so much that the indigenous law no longer deviates from the fiqh, apparently at least, except in the quantity of subterfuges, ar. /Arabic/ h'iyal. All this law, which guarantees, through the duration, the permanence of the milieu, has

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671 779 182 passed over in a block to the principles of importation, to the point that it is necessary to look very attentively and very far in order to find what it dissembles. More intact, marriage combines, to the exclusion of any liturgical aspect, old practices marking the communitarian intensity and a very acute contractual character. In this genre the institution, which comes to a sort of co-operative ratiocination, outbids Islam. Under this strong notion of individual acquests, under the adjacent ideas on which depend the parsimony of the emigrant serving for the resiliation of sales, or the peasant parsimony serving for their consolidation, or the bitter dispute between the familial inheritance and the avarice of each one, are glimpsed a play of investments and almost of agio, a permanent inflation brought by the abundance of importations of cash and the scarcity of land: so many traits that one cannot consider as recent.

671 675 421 182 Quite on the inverse, here is its very modern cachet. The mobility of civil rights attains an almost citylike rhythm here. The personal value of the obligation, the element of intuitus personae inherent in the contract disappear before a great latitude of negotiation and interchangeability. Thus in the twuliya, "transfer of the rights of the taker, "in the istidkāl, "transfer of successoral rights," and in the unconditional capacity to constitute "mandatory," lukil. The formularies are applied to render by redundances the substitution thus realized. One reads, for example, in a twuliya of the a. Umgan, 906 Heg.: 1654, the following expression: tawlīya çah'ĥ'a wa'starkaba-hu ff sarĵjati-hi wa nazzala-hu ff mah'alli-hi, "valid transfer: he had it get up on his saddle (cf. chl. /Shluh/ tarik, name given to the substitution), and put it (lit. "got down," cf. chl. /Shluh/ verb zuggez, in the same sense) in its proper place." Transmissibility of contractual obligations, infinite play of credit, freedom in representation: all that constitutes a sort of rejoinder to the unwritten laws of the equilibrium between ikhs-s and of patrimonial permanence. This agility of the mobilizations and substitutions extends even to the most unexpected objects, and which one would believe most bound to the identity, truly mystic.

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671 of the person: shares of benefice of a saint, tisura (trans. of the
675 Arabic futūh'ât), of the right to mutual assistance, tiwizi, of
421 "protection," etc. There one /389/ is at the very antipode of
182 what one imagines of an "ancient" law.

What is to be said about this division of labor that not only
671 qualifies, in the landed-property procedure, judges outside the
182 group, but jealously denies competence to the temporal chief?
[692] These careful delimitations, although undoubtedly from the most authentic foundation of the Chleuh /Shluh/ society, appear irreducible to archaism. Nevertheless the splitting of the judiciary instance obeys exigencies of recourse to the outside, of pause in the course of the joust, and, in short, of rejection of responsibility by the group, which express obscure traditional sentiments. This gives rise nonetheless to a procedure of scholarly type, written and aspiring to cityness. Traits undeniably "advanced": condemnation by default that the codifications anticipate, fine for nonexecution of the sentence or for failure to answer a summons, this last motif recurring constantly.

681 The penal law, up to a very recent period, has been admin-
182 istered by the jemâa. The latter has never really given it up. It
[634] is even for this purpose that it deploys the most initiatives and most willingly exercises its legislative function. But let us note that this penal law, based on pecuniary composition, a composition duly tariffed, evinces a singular institutional maturity. While the gentilitial structure inspires the agrarian order, it is effaced, in the penal one, before something that is clearly of the public law, and felt as such.

695 The plural oath has retained its role. It concludes all litiga-
182 tions that the writing does not determine. But this restriction is
[691] already quite important. And moreover, even where it keeps all its value, the oath has been driven into a reduced position: no longer of sworn law -- but of a second element of a procedure begun on an intellectual and profane plane. The richness of the elements of magico-religious order that one finds here and there in this part of the system cannot efface the contrary aspects, which are also striking. Certainly it is possible to suppose that

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695 182 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 [776] But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiology? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 795 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often exclusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

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671 the system was dedicated to complication, subtlety, feint. The
178 contribution from the outside became the avowed principle,
177 whereas the indigenous foundation fell back on secrecy and
chicanery. Nevertheless, the ensemble held. It held by the
671 conspiracy of the economy, of a collective psychology, and of
182 the event. It held above all because this society set the communal institution against the external threats and internal dislocation. The commune rebuilt everything that collapsed. This permanent reconstruction alone rendered possible the maintaining of the ensemble in spite of so many incongruities.

182 Only the commune fashioned the synthesis. And it is precisely in its most conscious form, most modern to our eyes, the most striking by its democratic and laic character, in these deliberations by the group on its law and its saints, that so many heterogeneous elements were best expressed: the old shy particularity, reference to Islam, and, above all, the desire to adapt, to innovate in order to preserve, to innovate in order to survive.

A Suppressed Culture

121 This course is the very one of history. In fact, we found history, among the Seksawa, not only in the obscure testimony of medieval chronicles, but in the structure of the groups, the adventure of individuals, and the /392/ very hierarchy of the sacred. Perhaps it is also to be recognized in the style of their culture and of their life.

177 The evolution and the secular action of the capitals, Marrakech /Marrakesh/, Taroudant, which are in some respects two cities of God, came less to modify the local genius, or to precipitate its rhythm, than to add to its complexity. As far as one goes
181 back, it is found imbued with this aptitude for heterogeneity,
177 which, if it is not original, certainly goes back to a stage still anterior to our oldest archives. Although this stage remains to be specified, one divines there a singular propensity to accept the thing of others. Introduction of foreign norms, acceptance of master words, in this case the language of a legal fraternity somewhat sorcerer, culture of defensive strategems, use of mask elements and refuge elements: all that creates a composite, artificial genre, both welcoming and resistant, servile and inexpugnable. For the Chleuh /Shluh/, his very nature.

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311 Let us return to the Seksawa. The field is indeed an object:
182 it is linked to a name, protected against expropriation by neigh-
423 bors, that is, by other names. It persists for centuries in the same onomastic co-ordinates. It is indentified, on the affective and juridical plane, with its rightful claimants. Finally it is the practical and individualized sum of habitudes of production. If one embraces a cadre larger than that of the parcel, one finds that most of these characters are joined in small ensembles: quarters. The parcel is in fact too tiny to constitute a natural unit. From that, it is not an estate /Fr. fonds/, but the abstract submultiple of a patrimony. On the echelon of the quarter, on the contrary, a unit does come forth. It asserts itself as the point of convergence of several elements. Among them some are intelligible to the usager: the toponymy, the visual aspect, indeed the very ones that proceed from deliberate practices: irrigation and, sometimes, crop rotation.

/412/ Others come into play, obviously, of which the local consciousness is unaware, and which only the specialist begins to perceive. Thus for all sorts of agrologic components. These factors escape the Chleuh /Shluh/ peasant and are therefore, in the immediate, without direct social import. But they offer, with the first, the common character of beginning to play their determining role beyond divisions overly minuscule. A certain coefficient of mass is necessary for them to assert themselves.

423 They will affirm themselves more and more to the extent that
182 the superficies are large. Their role will prevail all the more over that of the forces that preponderate on the humble echelon of the parcel. There, on a hundred square meters, and sometimes even less, man reigns by his abstract limitations, his juridical interdictions, his will. From the quarter, on the contrary, and even more on the echelon of the ground, the conjugation of the natural bases and of the technique ends in concrete syntheses. It is of them that the rural landscape is made. They strike the eye all the more as the cadre becomes larger.

[312] In the irrigated, the physical reality of the quarter, measuring, for example, half a hectare, is already revealed to the informed

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312 423 182 eye, who can follow the cutting up of the principal séguia by the successive trenches. In the dry, the notion of quarter is enlarged to that of ground. In fact, the use of water no longer intervenes to impose so extended a differentiation of the landscape and of work. Correlatively the toponymy, which, in the irrigated, would be confined, would refine divisions and subdivisions, describes in the dry no more than very broad meshes. This changing of rhythm, linked to the agricultural technique, constitutes an important sign. The comparison of structures collected from the upper cantons with the immense deployment of the Mez'ud'a or the Mtugga furnishes another one.

423 182 But let us leave the fertile avenue that is open here to research, in order to evoke -- if only for a moment, and only for the fine antagonism of the types -- the Latin fundus, with its individuality, its name, its mass: veritable syntheis of notions of patrimony, parcel, quarter, and ground. The economy of the high valleys permits one to observe the play separately. It thus permits analysis of it. The individual patrimony is dissolved into a sampling of parcels encased in the different quarters constituting the ground. The parcel is not a unit. It is a fraction. Several causes are undoubtedly responsible for its evanescence: want of economic consistency, lack of mass, excessive and exclusive liaison with human data. The parcel, if one wishes, is the atom of this rural world, but so /413/ paltry and so little charged with material that it is reduced almost to a purely social definition.

It is not the same for the quarter. It is a veritable collective object, for it consists of the assemblage of representative shares of the gentilitial elements of the group. To neglect such a character would be to abstract and mutilate a communitarian genius that alone explains and supports the institution. But the quarter is not only an object. It is above all the meeting place of the object aspect and the factors aspect. In it are conjugated the social forces and the natural conditions. It is at the junction of the group and the soils. In it a bundle of family names is compounded in order to be enclosed in a toponym based on a fragment of landscape and a concourse of agrologic elements. Thus, the Twuttyan

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423 of the a. Mh'and includes parcels accruing to six ikhs-s, at the
182 same time that it constitutes a cultural unit and a precise visual motif.

103 On a higher echelon the names of quarters assemble in more
182 general toponyms those of the grounds: thus for Tamgonsi, Agersili, Tassila, etc. But it happens that the toponym is lacking: then only the name of the group makes the link for the names of quarters: thus for the irrigated cuvette of the a. Mh'nd. This is only the tamazirt n-a. Mh'nd, without any other appellation. In this case, it is true, three notions tend to be confused: the agricultural one, of ground; the other one political, of bounds; the third geographical, of country. Such a meeting is rather rare. The more so as reality never lends itself to trenchant definitions. Forms react on one another, take one another's place. And it is not as far as the agglomeration of habitat -- whatever the mediocrity of its social signification may habitually be here -- which plays its role in the large classifications of the landscape. Thus one will hear a section of valley designated as "the land of Tannsmekht," for example, tamazirt n-Tnnsmekht. And nevertheless it is but a hamlet without veritable identity. It is absorbed, with others, in the personality of the Idma. Moreover, the expansion of the latter assembled a large number of countries not having any physical or onomastic unity among them: "Idma domain," tamazirt i-ydma.

101 On an even higher echelon the geographical cadre can ex-
103 ceed even extended applications of the name of the group. Then larger structural realities come into play. They make of the canton, and especially of the ramified system of a large valley, a unit surpassing the political order. History, however, is interested in organizing it in terms of this order, and finally in resolving it there. Thus, the name of Seksawa corresponds today above all to the cadre of a fluvial basin, a system obviously larger than /414/ that of any of the taqbilt-s crowded there. Further it is known that in the great epoch this cadre could express a vigorous political ensemble. But it is not the same everywhere. The name of the Gedmiwa, quite close, is far from

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101 covering the whole basin of the asif el-Mal. In the case of the
103 neighboring valley, this marking by a great medieval name is not even possible any more. One knows no more, and for the mere convenience, it seems, than "people of the Nfis," ait n-Nffis. Unless one includes them, significantly, in the recent "Gund'afa"...

Levels of the Social Organization

619 The Chleuh /Shluh/ taqbilt is not a federation of families.
634 It exists in and of itself, is not in the least resolved -- as it may
613 be in other Maghrebi domains -- in a balance of gentes. The
• 182 study of its penal law does not leave any doubt in this regard. At the same time as a striking maturity, it reveals the primacy of the public order over the familial defense: honor, vendetta, composition or retaliation. The luxuriant genre of the codifications indicates a stage which is that of the applied penalty, of decreed indemnification. Not only does the system circumscribe and suppress the gentilitial initiative, as may be the case in Kabylia, but it substitutes itself. Similarly, although the political course of the taqbilt does not entirely suppress the role of the ikhs-s, it is that of a democracy alternating with the tyrannical phenomenon, and not that of an assembly of "Roman senators." Even though the weight of age, of wealth, of alliances, quite like that of kinship or of the prestiges of familial order, compensate for its tumultuous propensity, it is not a "senate" that deliberates here, but a crowd. All the more, the meeting place is never a building, as in Kabylia, but an esplanade. Such signs count.

Certainly, external influences and internal evolutions were able to act on the system differently, according to the matter and the case at hand. Many dissimilarities are thus explained. Today we very likely only have access to a stage of unequal wear and tear according to the parts, but further and especially of alterings. Such as it is, among the Seksawa as in the rest of the Chleuh /Shluh/ region, the taqbilt stood out all the more as the function of the ikhs was reduced to -- or re-established in -- its

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619 634 613 182 [346] 776 778 346 634 619 present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

182 Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain.

613 182 Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

613 /415 cont./
182 moral balance in which the group finds exercise and permanence. A good part of the ethics of these populations amounts to rules and sentiments that assure the persistence of this balance against the damage of time and the hazard of individuals. In a past that 000 is not merely hypothetical -- since several modern traits postulate it -- the ikhs could have partaken of a hierarchy of qualifications that conferred upon such-and-such a lineage the charge of common actions involving the collectivity, its soil, its future (1).

1. For example, at the stage described by al-ᶜAbdarī, who is witness at Ans, in other words, on the South reverse of the Tizi Umachcho, veritable jousts of quarters, where it is not risky to recognize a ritual manifestation of the tension between ikhs-s. Cf. tr. of this passage in Cherbonneau, Journal asiatique, V, 1854, pp. 144 sq. Only al-ᶜAbdarī wrote in the thirteenth century. That is a terminus a quo a bit distant!

/416/ Major role! For the existence of the group must bring about connivances with nature, with the unwritten laws of the kosmos. It would follow that war, politics, agriculture, justice, beauty, and even holiness were in certain respects and to different degrees genitilitial affairs. Now there is nothing of this today (1).

1. Let us not forget the timezgida, whose communal role has been described above in detail. Borrowing terms from Greek Antiquity, it is in certain respects a prytaneum, it is never a leschè!

This past, if it is necessary to place it, can only be within the four centuries that our archive documentation covers. What counts today is not the function of the ikhs, but the crisis that shakes it. Neither the juridical folklore, nor especially the

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A Third Element of the Analysis:
The Name (3)

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3. The toponyms: these "fossils of human geography," as was said by J. Brunhes, Géographie humaine de la France, 1920, t. I, p. 289.

System of place names and system of group names are entangled according to a gradation and correspondences still /417/ readable between the quarter, the ground, and the canton, on the one hand, the ikhs and the taqbilt on the other. On superposed levels, divisions and subdivisions correspond to each other from one order to the other. The human civil state and the civil state of the space intersect, so to speak, their effects, each prevailing according to the level.

At the base, the "parcel" has almost no local substance, but a reality almost purely anthroponymic. It is a fluvial system that prevails at the summit, to the point that great collective designations like our Seksawa are perhaps only geographical expressions. In any case, in the intermediary degrees, the "group" corresponds to the "ground." The "quarter" expresses an equilibrium that forms influences and reflects, between the collectivity and the land, a complex appropriation conferring upon it complete consistency. In this privileged case, local definition and social definition are conjugated, leaning on each other, so to speak.

Now this entire toponymy, and not only that of the named places, but more profoundly the one that intimate exchanges with the man push to the most extreme detail, is original. Singularly the names of quarters, for which an almost constant intelligibility has been noted, within larger and less clear meshes, are evidence of a direct linguistic authenticity. How valuable an indication(1)!

1. Cf. L. Febvre, "Histoire et dialectologie," R. de synthèse historique, t. XII, p. 249.

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121 One will recall the imaginative inductions that suggested to
103 Renan, in his Histoire du peuple d'Israël, the genius of Semitic
182 languages and their alleged inaptitude for mythology. If today such ideas are contradicted or obsolete, the value of interpretation and or of comparison of the philology has only grown. I need as proof of this only the very recent contributions to the study of societies by its latest discipline, phonology (2).

2. For example, in the Structures élémentaires de la parenté /Elementary kinship structures/, by Cl. Levi-Strauss, 1949, p. 611, and all the work of L. Gernet.

103 In this sense, the agrarian toponymy of the Seksawa, with its
182 density, its implications with the communal organization, and its Berbère /Berber/ integrity, can furnish its contribution to new investigations. Let us observe, for example, that in these two series of names corresponding to the structural echelons of the group on the one hand, of the landscape on the other, the value of the signifier /Fr. signifiant/ (3)

3. One apologizes for this technical term, recently spread by the tr. of the book by N. S. Troubetzkoy, Principes de Phonologie, tr. J. Cantineau, 1949, p. 2.

is not equal everywhere.

The anthroponymy in fact expresses precise contents whether it /418/ is a matter of the person, the foyer, the ikhs, the taqbilt. Beyond this, however, the connotation is more vague. It comes to not having any more than a variable value, one of the terms of this variation possibly tending toward what the linguists call "degree zero." Such is the case for forms whose wording often recurs in North African science: "tribe," "confederation,"

1: Berque--581 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

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çoff, leff (1).

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• 182

1. Cf. J. Berque, "Qu'est-ce qu'une 'tribu' nord-africaine? /What is a North African 'tribe'?/," Mélanges L. Febvre, 1954, t. 1, pp. 261 sq.

On the contrary, spatial denominations, founded basically on the prodigious richness of words designating the organs of the field, carry a precise meaning, up to the highest echelons. The name of Tamgonsi, of Tassila, of Ibuban arouses the clearest images. And also that of Seksawa, envisaged as that of a hydrographic basin. Hazy on the contrary, and irreducible to analysis, if one has it suggest a human ensemble which would be defined by something other than precisely the name and the habitat. Nothing else in fact, on this level, that explains, for the Seksawa, the exact nature of this formation.

The Taqbilt of the Haut Atlas: A Pole of Explication

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In the taqbilt, on the contrary, a group structure is organized with a country structure. The names are both the sign and the agent of this organization. Would it be to strain the expression to say at what point the originality of such a form resides in the combination that takes place there between linguistics and geography? If the synthesis is meticulous here and full of orders of things for which the North African societies never offer discovery of the same genre, at least of the same degree, the study of these societies will have available a useful criterion merely to measure in them the presence or absence, the incoherence or connection of these various elements.

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An example: the ideas of bounds, of ground, of quarter are found more or less in all the countrysides of the Maghreb. I pass by the idea of named place, in which one confuses them, often wrongly. But nowhere up to here, other than in the Haut-Atlas,

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171 103 has one been able to observe the astonishing adjustment that they can reach. Thus, in the plains and on the hills of the Gharb, a toponymic network covers the whole countryside. Its meaning is all the more obscure since it does not usually correspond to a visual division. The landscape is homogeneous and diffuse. Whence the unintelligibility of facts for which the Chleuh /Shluh/ country offers an immediate explication. Remainder that, were it in the grounds with profound /419/ landed-property disaggregation, like the Gharb, the study of laws which govern situations and landowner ambitions between rival units, and of the figure that they assume on the soil thus disputed, would be fruitful. This study has never been attempted. It would undoubtedly cause one to plunge very deeply into the knowledge of "Arab" groups, manifestly imported into the country -- the Sofyân and the Beni Mâlek --, but whose comportment nonetheless corresponds, we believe, to such characteristics as we have tended to attribute a bit too exclusively to the "Berbères." Certainly the populations of the Gharb were neither very anciently nor very well established. Their struggle for identity is not the one observed in the Haut-Atlas: a dialogue between group names and place names. It is that of a genealogical interpretation. And our sociology grasped it as such already more than half a century ago. Calling in question what the indigenous explanation obstinately attributes -- at least so one believed -- to the community of origin, it has shown the major part of the successive additions that ended by forming, in spite of, but around an ancestor fiction, the very material of the group. This system bears, since E.-F. Gautier, who largely brought it out, the name of "biological" system. It is thus conveniently opposed to the European system, above all topographical, and with which it can maintain many eloquent antitheses. It is no less opposed to the system of the Haut-Atlas.

182 In fact, from the ikhs to the taqbilt, the interpretation by common ancestry touches only a minority of cases here. What counts is the connection between elements from all horizons. It is evident to the member of the group, and in practice is expressed by an agrarian order. This is a phenomenon quite different

/419 cont./

182 from a successoral distribution. Here the jemâa begins, one might say, where there is no longer natural or conventional kinship. Or rather -- since the preceding formula arouses the idea of a composition starting from the family -- the specific attribute of the group is that it is divided into heterogeneous subgroups, that this heterogeneity results from a diversity of origins or from [111] other variations. One could say as much of the Kabyle thaddert, or of the Mozabite city.

000 Let us set in opposition the Arab tribe, which we are going to observe in the Orient, so as to eliminate from the type the influences and the evolutions peculiar to the Maghreb (1).

1. P.-A. Jaussen, Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab /Customs of the Arabs in the country of Moab/, 1908, pp. 107 sq., and the masterly account by Hertz, Ann. Soc., t. XI, pp. 323 sq. Cf., more recently H. R. P. Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London, 1951, pp. 108 sq.; G. W. Murray, Sons of Ishmael, London, 1935, pp. 35 sq.

The veritable unit there is what /420/ P. Jaussen improperly calls the "clan," united by consanguinity or adoption. It is the h'amûleh or ᶜachîreh. Everyone is supposed to have descended from an eponymous ancestor. Several clans form the "tribe," qabîleh, indeed the "confederation," bedîdeh, loose and unstable groupings. "The clan serves as model for any community whatever it may be. The tribe also claims identity of name and blood, by the derivation from a single ancestor." The cult of this ancestor appears even characteristic of the Bédouins, governed by the agnatic formula, whereas that of the saints, with territorial basis, reigns almost exclusively among the sedentary peoples. Such a form is naturally no longer to be seen in the pure state in North Africa. For all that, it reigned there at certain periods or in certain zones -- and one thinks of the Bédouin organizations that the Hilalians were able to propagate -- no doubt it was opposed, trait for trait, to the type of the Haut-Atlas.

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preceding notations will suffice to support a judgment, moreover above all critical. It is legitimate to conjecture a constant fluidity between denominations of groups habitually distinguished by the user as well as by the research worker. The surprising thing is not that interferences should be produced between agrarian or urban confraternities, corporations, territorial cadres and genealogical systems. It is that they should be so numerous. It is that they coexist with an evolution that belies them on many grounds. [171] Between forms such as tribe, confederation, league, ʿoff, leff, party, even qualifications within the hierarchies of the profane and of the sacred, the exchange has been perpetual in North Africa, and still continues.

Morphological Thresholds

616 182 [695] Let us return to the native interpretation. It brings together the fraternity of leff with that of blood or of the oath. This proximity may be attributed to the decadence of the types. But let us note that many of the traits that in our view distinguish these three notions amount to a morphological variation linked to the broadness of play. From the least broad cadre: this ground where, the patrimonies are organized, to the broadest: the whole section of the Moroccan South that covers the chessboard of the leagues, several thresholds are interposed. Each indicates a changing of social rhythm.

619 634 578 As has been seen, on this side of the first threshold, the small taqbilt of the Haut-Atlas prevails. It forms its agnatic subdivisions without anything /437/ being interposed between their strife and its order. This is not to say that this strife, in certain respects, [613] does not go beyond internal law. But the ikhs indeed has the feeling of consanguinity, and many of the conflicts that it has with the other ikhs-s are amenable to sworn law. The cadre of the taqbilt, although it carries within itself an explosive force, moreover owes to its agrarian correspondences an exemplary distinctness. (Opposite to this, the genealogical tribe never offers in North Africa, we believe, as pure an example.)

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availability of course, of feint, or of hope. We see these confusions begin on the terrain, at the stage where a small political cell of the Haut Atlas bursts over two or three valleys. And what will become of these broader forms, which any knowledge, any Maghrebi action will necessarily meet on their path!

/440/ Conclusion

121 Discordance of the Material and Social Aspects (1)

1. One will not be able to refrain, in this development, from value judgments. In spite of the economic analyses of our Second Part, on which it was believed one could support them, the undertaking is delicate. Cf. E. Durkheim, Les règles de la méthode sociologique /The rules of the sociological method/, 1895, and the distinction between the "normal" and the "anormal," pp. 74 sq., which it is proper, in my opinion, to pair with the recent attainments of "human ecology."

121 619 634 One might believe that the taqbilt of the Atlas, because of its clearness of foundations, its close liaison to a space, its logical rigor, finally its autonomy, arises directly from the ground, and that its structure owes nothing to the foreigner. But there is none so solitary, so defended by the country or the event that it does not reveal, in its form as well as in its substance, a sharing with the most distant Maghreb. Let us therefore carry forward the examination of any group of the Haut Seksawa. This little society is not determined by the milieu with the exactitude that would make one conjecture an immemorial peasant civilization.

182 Adaptation to the cadre is done by a perpetual mediocrity of the peopling and of the enterprises. Mediocrity indispensable to the weak equilibrium with a nature that, in the case of demographic

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182 advance, or extension of the herd, collapses. The decline of the soils, the flight of the trees sanction the momentary victories. Such a view, it is true, concerns above all the plain. But it also applies to the valleys of the Atlas, for all that, even there, the techniques of refection of the lands and of collection of water do not arise out of any fathoming of the hydraulic or arborical techniques. Among these great sedentary peoples of the Maghreb, the view of the livestock raiser remains sovereign. Now that is undoubtedly not at all a matter of traits of montagnard rusticity, of economic and cultural archaism. The livestock raiser doubles as a speculator, sometimes as a man of letters with a townsman's aims, and always as the most demanding of citizens. In the material as in the spiritual, people from here go far. But their success does not bear on utilizing the milieu. It bears on social constructions, for which the latter is only the pretext, and which contain a part of hyperbole.

/441/ The superiority of the social apparatus contrasts with the relative mediocrity of the techniques. Extraordinary sureness of the system of distribution! The division of the water, that of the soil between groups attain a disturbing perfection. Incomprehensible and inimitable perfection, not only to the European, were he a specialized engineer, but to the Moroccan of the plain. The social here knows a veritable hypertrophy. Its profusion exceeds on all sides the suggestions of the physical milieu. All allowances being made, it ends up being a cause of stagnation as decisive as the ritual superabundance is in other milieus. The analysis has made stand out in detail this disproportion between material techniques on the one hand, the social organizations on the other. It is the very one that a brillant page of the Genséric of E. F. Gautier pointed out in Roman and Mediterranean antiquity. For other reasons, it could also be qualified as "oriental": superficial assimilations! The disproportion that is verified here has without any doubt causes peculiar to this society.

It always disconcerts the observer. It forces him finally to judge severely a system in which he admires the civicism and laicity full of promise. His judgment is that of history. In the

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182 remarkable and, if one wishes, pathetic contrast which bursts out between the precariousness of the foundations and the exuberance of the masonry, one cannot see an advantage, but a factor of ultraconservatism and sterility. The force of the man is exhausted, one might say, by these communitarian refinements. It loses its impact upon the material of the country.

That is why these societies of exact genius, of untiring energy have up to now only been able to progress by denying themselves. In the order of the taqbilt they find their own consummation, something beyond which nothing remains, except to begin again upon other foundations. Therefore they defend themselves to absurdity. Everything acquired in the way of resources, experience and ideas that emigration sometimes goes so far to seek, they use to reanimate the old and imperfectible machine. The latter, in contact with the world, cannot evolve. It persists, or bursts.

That it may be less an original form than an effected form, less a beginning than an impasse, this is what the observation of its internal disparities would already suggest. There is without any doubt a connection between its morphological profusion and the meanness of the milieu. The republics of the Haut Seksawa, and their equals of the Moroccan South, are little monsters of social ingenuity. Their creative richness on this plane, contrasting so strongly with the minuteness of their cadre, arises less from spontaneity, from an immediate inspiration /442/ from the country, than from a reaction against the scarcity of space and the troubles of the past. It is a richness of substitutions and requitals. Although we poorly know the causes and modalities of it, there has been a forcing back of Berbère /Berber/ societies. But if we did not know this, we would be struck by the contrast between the milieu and what this humanity institutes there. Numerous traits lead one to believe that it has wanted to adapt itself there less than to be exalted there and, in certain respects, to be exaggerated there with a goal not so much of survival as of affirmation, of play.

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Recourse To the External and
To the Transcendent

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182 The system of the taqbilt, far from being an immediate datum of analysis, appears, by this head, itself conditioned. As fiercely defended as it is, it never remains isolated. It is intelligible only as resultant. Not only has it been subjected to influences, but it is posed and is conceived of only in relation to exterior or superior entities (1).

1. Cf. the views of Marc Block on "feudal" societies, Ann. hist. soc., 1939, p. 14.

[779] It adheres to a great monotheism, Islam. It is fond of the marvels of towns and of the plain, and avid to appropriate, while neutralizing them, innovations and progress, or simply singularities. This imbues it with enthusiasms, defiances, ambiguities, and above all unrest. It feels besieged. Its culture is transactional. Its sense of justice, although violent and original, has not escaped the touches of such a sentiment. The Seksawa order, this order with compression and explosion, is also an order that disguises itself, for it judges itself, and judges itself wrongly. The ritual life, from its external manifestations to its most intimate movements, is resolved into divisions compounding, unequally according to the levels, the local spontaneity with the external contribution.

182 In its topographical materiality, the Seksawa domain is inseparable from the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. The same coefficient of painstaking, and almost systematic, variety that opposes customs from canton to canton, opposes the law of the Seksawa with that of this ensemble. Everything happens as if the personalities that we observe deep-rooted, and as though contracted, at the bottom of the valley grounds came from the rupture of a larger body. This perhaps explains a curious phenomenon: the fact that in this fragmentation, there has not been concordance between the law and the language. Their lines of variation do not

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coincide. An analysis /443/ that was more profound would uncover, I believe, other cases of discordance of the various series of facts between themselves on the one hand, with the cantonal cadre on the other. For if this last, which is connected to the geography, has acted to such an extent, through its physical consistency as well as through its limitations, upon everything that touches on the organizations, other orders of things, subjacent in a way to the group life, have remained independent of this cadre and are understood only by reference to a broader generality.

If it is indeed so, one sees why and how this canton so well protected seeks, on the side of a geographical, doctrinal, or political depassment, the ransom of a particularism submitted to rather than constructed. The humblest cell is connected, by a whole network of virtualities, to material or ethical systems that far surpass it. These virtualities, legacy of history, are roused under shocks, appearing in case of need. Wider and wider circles of solidarity can then be roused around minute centers. And the local genius, among all these configurations with shifting and ambiguous names: sect, tribe, party, finds a thousand occasions for games of guile and devotion. Every montagnard of adventurous instinct has at his disposal, merely in the depths of his valley, a clavier of correspondences, with which it depends only upon his audacity, his talent in knowing how to play, in order to make of him a prophet, or a conqueror, or, more modestly, a politician.

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Let us leave the scene of the upper cantons for that of the Sous in its ensemble. The Chleuhs /Shluh/ have fully suffered the impact of the oriental culture. Patient and scrupulous, at the same time that they adhered to it on the plane of faith, they sought there their own values. They find a balance in these syntheses, of which their law is the most successful. Adhesion to others, the necessity and the taste for compromise have maintained among them not only subtlety, but a personality of dependence. This fine construction is made and judged with respect to external ideals. It dares be itself only stealthily. Its identity, even more than its autonomy, suffers in this. It is marked by what a modern school would call a feeling of "altérité" /otherness/.

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181 or modern, adepts of oriental universalism or obstinate champions of a custom, anarchic uprooted ones or believers in a patriarchal tradition.

The visage of this society is therefore often only falsehood or alibi. It is deciphered only by reference to the ensemble. But the ensemble is deeply disturbed or altered. Between its parts, the relations of origin, of connection, or of function are neither those that the user acknowledges nor those that the investigator expects. Thus, the repressive law maintains the communitarian vigor in which Durkheim sees an ancient trait (2).

2. E. Durkheim, De la division du travail social /Concerning the division of social labor/, 5th ed., 1926, p. 42.

But is it not this trait that is expressed and renewed in the /447/ montagnard codifications up to our day (1)?

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1. The Kabyle qânûn-s, still alive around 1930, maintained at this time a debate of actuality. L. Milliot, "Nouveaux qânûn-s kabyles /New Kabyle qânûn/," Rens. Col., 1927, p. 113.

• 182 There is not archaism there, but desire for archaism, which opens completely different paths for the analysis. Restitutive law has found special ministers, often outside the commune, and, for more surety, imbued with a learned law. But this is only a façade. Rural life obeys something else. In the middle of the twentieth century, the distribution of water and of the soil expresses a harmony that everything has contradicted for a long time. An agile mobilization may act on the surface, it respects the rule. A gentilitial order remains in the landed property, whereas it has been effaced from the rites for centuries. But has it actually remained? Does it recall a former stage, or, on the contrary, does it not arise from historical initiatives? A co-operative system with harsh calculations is practiced in a communitarian

/447 cont./

182 climates. On the other hand, a powerful and artful social control governs a milieu of furious and perpetual discussion. Here again, which is the basic aspect, and which is the derived aspect? These "survivals" of an ancient stage, little by little drowned by the afflux of the modern, would they not instead be reconstructions?

121 128 Up to here we have reserved the answer, which involves our entire conception of these people and their history. It is now going to be necessary to choose between two possible explanations. Already the coexistence of such characteristics seemed to us to dismiss the hypothesis of a simple development, of a uniform construction. But there is more. Anachronism, ruptures in tone, contrasts are not only constant here, but regular, and almost systematic. Everything happens as if this society were seeking, by internal compensation, the re-establishment, of an equilibrium and the maintenance of an autonomy. Attraction to newness, submission to violence or to the seduction of others are compounded here with the safeguarding of the personality by excess in the opposite direction. The archaizing reaction depends on modernism.

What discordances in any case! This man is a citizen, devoted to universal values, advanced in the mobilization of rights, newcomer at legislative debate, at laicity. And the commune controls and penalizes comportments which, at this degree of individualism, should be free, and in fact believe they are. For example, it maintains the equilibrium of the patrimonies between agnatic groups. But the latter have lost most of their power even in domestic morality or economy. Same control /448/ over the play of saving, investment, revendication. These activities yield to a communitarian ethic, while everywhere else, and within themselves, the exacting initiative of the person reigns. The archaism of a penal law collectively administered exists in spite of all changes, indeeds draws a new rigor from it.

Can all this be considered the effect of chance, or even of unequal evolutions? We believe rather that unconscious regressions, compensatory or retrograde courses, invention of forms and modes, finally all these a posteriori movements reveal the elaboration and

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133 less wild. There the Atlas becomes /18/ more gentle and less
[137] hostile; to be sure, near the crests of the Erdouz, of the Igdad,
[361] and of the Tichka it still retains a character of severe grandeur;
the line of summits that the snow crowns until summer is revealed to be even more noble and beautiful perhaps than on the harsh plateau of the Wanoukrim; but forests of green oaks and of cypress rise on the slopes, and the network of rivers and torrents, at the edge of which crowd the villages, penetrates more deeply into the heart of the mountains through the valleys of the Ogdemt, the Aghbar, the Asif el Mal, and of the Seksawa. It
619 seems here that the union of man and nature is more intimate
182 and perfect, and that the dream of a Berbère /Berber/ kingdom, isolated from the world, aware of the strength that the inhabitants of the high valleys can make up when they succeed in agreeing for an instant, forming a single alliance against the foreigner of the plains, might have been born there. So this part of the Deren has become one of the bastions of Berbère /Berber/
619 resistance. It was the small basin of Tinmel in the upper valley
175 of the Nefis that lent its cadre to the first efforts of the Almohade tribes. It was the villages of the Seksawa that saw the birth of the minor kings of the thirteenth century, whose power and spirit of intrigue and enterprise sometimes made the Mérinides tremble in Marrakech. Still in our day the Makhzen /makhzan/ has remained powerless to subdue the last rebel tribes grouped around the summits of the Tichka, and the efforts of the great kaids had to stop at the threshold of the gorges that protect the entrance of the territory of these republics, which have remained free at the price of millenary efforts.

133 Beyond the Tizi Ma'cho, the land of the Ida ou Tanan and
101 of the Haha prolongs to the Ocean that of the tribes of the Haut-Atlas. The general conditions of life, peopling, and history have given this region characteristics that easily distinguish it from the rest of the Deren.

133 In this extreme part of the Atlas the great chain continues, beyond the deep cut of the Oued /wadi/ of the Aït Mousi, only by two lines of narrow and jagged crests, which reach the

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133 deserve the name of "Igherm" -- fortress -- which the Ait
[103] Waouzgit like to give it.

This strange mass, in reddish hues, is dominated by isolated peaks that rise here and there in the middle of a huge volcanic plateau. Basalt ridges profile their fantastic lines in the sky, while at their feet large villages, dominated by immense storehouses, live under a hot sun, in the vicinity of sources of water fed by the melting of the snows of spring. It is on the flanks of
[361] this volcano that the confederation of the Aït Waouzgit has re-
[619] mained established for long centuries. Having descended /20/ from the plateau in order to colonize the valleys, the tribes of the Sirwa have moreover mingled with those of the two great chains in the vicinity, but without ever completely abandoning their traditions and their own characteristics.

The various parts of the Anti-Atlas are more difficult to separate from one another. To the east the chain is so worn down that only a few peaks of eruptive rocks exist as witnesses. This is the country of the vast plateaus of the Zenaga and Souktana, whose lands would be fertile if the sky did not already have the inexorable limpidity of the Sahara.

Farther on, in the central Anti-Atlas, between the valley of the Inda ou Zal and the territory of the Aït Abdallah and of the Ilalen, the mountains rise to form the peaks of the Fidoust and the Adrar Waklim at 2,200 meters in altitude, yet on the line of the crests the plateaus extend in a gentle slope on the two ver-
[361] sants. Here again a man's life is hard; the best harvests are poor, and only a few villages surrounded by almond trees prosper near the summits and springs. Toward the Sahara the wadis hollow out deep cuts, and the springs that sometimes appear in their dried-up beds support palm groves already similar in their external appearance to the ones of the Bani.

133 In a country so difficult, the problem of material subsistence
181 dominates all others. It absorbs all forces, and, since local re-
•182 sources remain insufficient, temporary emigration becomes a
[166] pressing necessity. A man's energy is consumed in the course of this constant struggle; activity turns away from political life

/22 cont./

000 the Guanches, then lived, the use of boats was still unknown in the islands. What we know of the life of the islanders, on the other hand, indicates that they remained entirely separated from the continent for long centuries.

175 The most determined foreign intervention in the Sous took
648 place at the time of the Christian conquest of the sixteenth century. But, to be sure, the establishment of the Portuguese at Mogador and Agadir had above all as a consequence that of bringing about in the interior a powerful maraboutic reaction that was to end in their defeat; the result of these struggles was thus to defend the Sous still more jealously against European penetration for more than four centuries.

133 Here, as on the whole western coast of Morocco, the long
177 waves of the Atlantic, which come to die by breaking on the
•182 beaches, by driving ships from the shore, confined the old Mus-
361 sulman Empire in its archaic institutions more securely than the best-guarded walls. At the same time, in this faraway province of a country that nature alone sufficed to isolate from the Occident, the Berbère /Berber/ tribes in their mountain bastions, far from the roads of the Makhzen /makhzan/, tried to preserve intact /23/ a language, traditions, and customs still more ancient.

It is by means of this double defense against the outside that the inhabitants of the Sous were to keep before our eyes up to the present, in their secluded valleys, the obscure and agitated life that doubtless the peoples of the Mediterranean knew before the development of the cities and empires of Greece and Rome.

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43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
• 182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAïsi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
[631] objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

511 In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
556 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[184] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[422] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the
[423] mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the

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*634 616 726 571 not because he happened to be born in a "taqbilt" of one of the parties, but because all the families of his canton are bound to one another by a kind of fraternal bond. It is the people who enter into the leff and not their country. This distinction may seem subtle in a country where the territorial boundaries of the cantons are so well known and so little variable, and where these two notions, that of the territory and that of the human group that occupies it, are at present confused. It must be made nevertheless in order to understand how colonies of exiles sometimes keep a long fidelity to their fraction of origin and to their leff and resist assimilation for a long time. This attachment explains in particular the capricious boundaries of the "taqbilt" and of the "mouda^{c}" /189/ at the foot of the Dir, in the regions where the mixture of inhabitants who have recently come down from the mountains is incessant. Each one maintains useful relations with his leff brothers, in order to be protected against his neighbors; since, moreover, the villages associate with one another in taking these alliances into account, there results at the foot of the Atlas a state of confusion of the territorial boundaries of the small social units that contrasts with the precision of the frontiers of the "taqbilt" in the high valleys.

*634 616 •182 IV. Strength and stability of the institution. -- In the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ the leffs have a remarkable stability. Before the recent period of political transformation, during which the development of personal power so often, as we shall see, disturbed the balanced interplay of the two parties, it was almost unprecedented that a canton of the "Imsifern" ever passed over to the "Indghertit," or inversely; doubtless it happened that it might betray its associates in a dispute, but it would have been a great disgrace for it to repudiate definitively secular bonds. One will judge the strength of this feeling of fidelity to the traditional alliance and of the acts of hate that it is capable of inspiring against the enemy by the following two examples.

*634 616 726 In the Haut-Asif el Mal is found the small tribe of the Aït Tigidar, which fought for a century with surprising fury at the

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*634 578 726 628 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange

*634 578 628 727 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are always spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,

[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 591 578 •182 796 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 632 *634 796 535 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir," "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or

/235 cont./

796 53 warriors, on the most beautiful girls. Behind the spectators, the fantastic shadows of the big trees move in the glimmer of the glowing coals. Then, in the calm mountain night, the moon rises and comes to light this scene, barbaric and graceful at the same time. The nostalgic melody of the choruses carries along the dance, and the faces, sometimes so rude and so closed, are transfigured; in the middle of the rank of the women, dressed in white, adorned with their crude silver jewelry, shine the most resolute girls, who lead the song, their heads crowned with flowers. The young men, the notables themselves, become emboldened to answer their lines. Finally, the "reis" improvise, celebrate the combats of years gone by, the glory of the patron saints of the Sous, faithfulness to the alliances, the price of liberty.

*634 571 796 •182 All the life of the "taqbilt" is concentrated for one night around the fires stirred up until dawn, and whose brightness gives to all, at the same time as the illusion of beauty, confidence in the strength of the reconciled families. Thus there go to sleep for a few hours the passions and vengeances whose constant threat can break up the little Berbère /Berber/ state and which are revived in the morning in the mediocre existence of the day.

*634 796 571 646 182 619 Besides these village rejoicings that are part of the life of the "taqbilt," there exist, as we have said, other more warlike festivities, those of the "tinoubga," in which the "Aït Tskawin" figure. It is there that the alliances of the leffs grow closer. The great maraboutic "mousem," such as those of Lalla ᶜAziza of the Seksawa, of Sidi Brahim Ou ᶜAli of the Ida Ou Tanan, and of Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the Tazerwalt, are the occasion of still larger gatherings, in which all the divided tribes and fractions can meet in peace. The opposing leffs thus get to settle their disputes amicably amidst the festivities, dances, and feasts under the protection of the great saints of the Sous.

000 X. The Berbère /Berber/ republics of the Haut-Guir, of the Djbala, of the Branès. -- The life of the Berbère /Berber/ communities, independent of /236/ or imperfectly subject to the

/249 cont./

423 montagnards as a fair fee to the guardians of the col (2).
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486
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2. "The Irohalen of the Demsira claim," says F. de La Chapelle (Notices inédites sur les tribus dissidentes du commandement des Mtougga /Unpublished Notes on the Dissident Tribes of the Mtougga Command/), "that the Tizi Macho and the Oussoud are wholly theirs since they pay for the thefts that are committed there." Likewise, the Aït Tigouga of the tribe of the Aït Semmeg, to the south of the Tizi n Test, bought from the neighboring fractions their guard rights over the col and drew up deeds of individual ownership having as their object the right to collect the "zettata." Cf. our article "l'Aghbar et les hautes vallées du Grand-Atlas /The Aghbar and the High Valleys of the Great Atlas/," Hespéris, 1927, 1st quarter, p. 7.

443 IV. The markets and the fairs. -- The regulation of the markets is of special importance in Berbère /Berber/ country.
[182] The montagnard does not betake himself to the "souq" /sook/
[571] solely in order to buy or sell, he also goes there often to meet
[578] his friends again, to settle disputes about land or pasture, or still
[203] more simply in order to learn the news of the day.

Two kinds of markets exist. Some are held in the /250/ territory of a mountain canton or at the boundary of two or three "taqbilt"; a few dry-stone shelters forming shops (tahanout, plur. tihouna) suffice to shelter the merchants and delimit a small plaza where about a hundred persons at the most group themselves once a week. These then are the notables of the place, who, without collecting any fees, are charged with guaranteeing policing and security.
[554]
[625]

Other more important souqs exist on the major routes of passage, such as the "Jema'a" of the Aït Daoud among the Ida ou

/255 cont./

343 activity of the little Berbère /Berber/ republics during the peace.
712 In addition, if war breaks out, each one comes to seek refuge
184 there with his family in case of peril; a huge cistern that always remains full permits holding out against a long siege.

[619] These fortresses are particularly numerous in the Anti-Atlas.
*[634] Each tribe or each big fraction has its own. They then are often arranged in the interior in the form of narrow streets onto which open two rows of rooms built on three or four floors (1).

[171]

1. This arrangement is identical with the one of the storehouses of the nomad Berbères /Berbers/ of the Tunisian South in the region of Foum Tatahouine.

Projecting stones permit access by climbing up to the highest doors. An enclosure of jujube-tree thorns piled up several meters high, several crenelated borjs /towers/ provided with machicolations ensure defense. The watch is stood by a group of warriors [625] from the tribe designated in turn in each "mouda^{c}" or each hamlet; the doorkeeper lives permanently inside the enclosure.

In these tribes of the Anti-Atlas, the use of the agadir is so general that one comes to keep in each house the provisions for only one day. Each morning the head of the family goes to obtain the necessary victuals from the canton storehouse, in order, he says, "that the women will not waste God's blessing."

•[182] The role played by the agadirs of the Anti-Atlas and the Sirwa region is easily explained by the conditions of life in a country where people can subsist only by amassing provisions in the years of abundance, rarer than those of drought and famine (2).

[127]

2. M. Officer Interpreter Ben Daoud has kindly communicated to us a work in preparation on the ørf /tribal custom/ concerning the agadir of the Tamellokt tribe. This document contains more than 350 articles, which throw the most

/255 cont./

/footnote 2 continued/ curious light on the psychology of the council of the chiefs of the agadir. We thank him for kindly authorizing us to cite some of the most suggestive ideas of this translation.

So we see the canton storehouse take on, without losing any of its defensive character, a growing economic importance; the number of rooms multiplies; a market is established at the door; special functionaries: a doorkeeper, some amins, a council of notables who proudly give themselves the title of "'Ommal" -- "governors" of the agadir -- see to the good functioning, the maintenance, and the security of the storehouse. This organization becomes the /256/ point of departure of a complicated juridical regulation that fixes minutely the rights and the duties of the users; finally customaries appear, which are among the most surprising and perfect monuments of the legislation of the Berbères /Berbers/. These collections, to which the name of "louh," small board, is given, doubtless because they were originally written on a small board suspended on the wall, sometimes have more than 200 or 300 articles. The repair of the rooms and their roofing, the use of the measuring instruments, the sale of the commodites, security /Fr. nantissement, security, pledge, lien/, the use of loans on harvests are foreseen and studied in these codes with a precision of detail and good sense that does not seem to us to have been surpassed in any collective organization of the autochthons of North Africa (1).

1. Cf. our study: "Un magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas /A Collective Storehouse of the Anti-Atlas/," Hespéris, 1929.

The council of the agadir of the Anti-Atlas is constituted, like that of the "taqbilt" of the Masmouda, by the heads of the most important families of the "khoms" or of the tribe. Its authority increases ceaselessly in proportion as the storehouse

*634 697 671 /283 cont./ for repressing crimes and offenses, by the old law of the "taqbilt," in which the only penalties envisaged are death, exile, and a fine.

*634 616 •182 This absence of proper institutions suffices to show how the regime of the amghars represents, at least so long as they remain mere leff chiefs, a transitory and precarious form of political organization. Too close to their brothers to separate from them, they remain enslaved by the traditional rules that they violated by seizing power. They will have to break the bonds of the leffs to succeed in freeing themselves.

*634 616 726 VIII. The amghars and the policy of the leffs. -- For the reasons that we have indicated, the first consequence of the establishment /284/ of personal power is a recrudescence of external wars. The hate of the leffs is exacerbated, and in the course of these struggles one often sees veritable massacres of the defeated take place. We shall soon tell how, about 1870, the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft had 60 notables from the leff of the "Aït Atman" killed by having their throats cut, when they were assembled with weapons in the house of his enemy, the amghar Achefar of Tagemout. Only a few years ago, before the conquest of the Souktana by the chiefs of Telwet, more than 100 men were likewise killed like sheep, after having been reduced by thirst in the agadir of Ighri. The internal wars were then caused in this tribe by the dissensions of the amghars, which were to facilitate the arrival of the Glawa.

During this period of political evolution the spirit of solidarity of each of the two opposite sides is thus reinforced, the "taqbilt" are united in war as if they really formed a single family. When the amghar Si Mokhtar Seksawi, of the fraction [682] of the Aït Lhasen, had had his benefactor, the kaid Chtittihi, chief of the Aït Mousa, assassinated, he confiscated all his [628] property and plowed his fields. But when he wanted to pay the blood price, it was to the leff brothers of his victim that he paid the money.

[178] Nevertheless, a prompt weakening soon follows the fever of the first years. As soon as the resources of the amghar are

/317 cont./

*631 of Tazenakht, has completely disappeared since the masters of
*634 Telwet reduced the whole confederation of the Aït Waouzgit to
175 servitude; but we know at least that the last of these amghars
616 exercised their command in the manner of their Tazenakht
[178] neighbors; two brothers united to deal with the affairs that interested the two leffs; each side could thus find an advocate devoted to its interests in the very family of the amghars, and the decision made afterward in common by the two brothers thus permitted, under the best possible conditions, conciliating the opposing interests.

*631 The common custom in the Sous and in the Atlas of thus
*634 sharing the command between two brothers or two cousins ap-
593 pears to us to be explained most often by the desire of the chiefs
605 to keep a fair balance between the leffs or the hostile soffs within
•182 their tribes. Such a practice is possible only for chiefs who have
616 succeeded in dominating and conciliating internal rivalries (1).
[578]

1. Perhaps one should also see there an Arab influence explicable among the tribes adjacent to the Sahara. The government of a tribe entrusted to two brothers and, as a consequence, later to two branches of the same family at once is in the tradition of the desert. Cf. G. Marçais, Les Arabes en Berbérie /The Arabs in Barbary/, p. 704.

*634 VI. The tribal chief rises above the leffs. -- All these examples chosen in the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the country of the Sirwa enable us to understand clearly how the amghar, chief of a canton, manages the conquest of a tribe.

As long as the Berbère /Berber/ chief remains the champion of a leff, his power is based on the existence of social forces independent of his will and which he directs only imperfectly. The resources that he can draw from war are moreover limited, for he
*[631] must give his allies their share of the booty. Consequently, when
[648] he has not gone beyond that lower degree of authority, he often

/320 cont./

*634 command. The memory of the state of equilibrium of the op-
*631 posed "taqbilt," of the two leffs regularly alternating in the
616 valleys, is effaced more and more. Henceforth when the mas-
178 ters of the casbahs go to war, they carry along behind them compact masses of tribes to which are sometimes still given the name of leff, but whose alliance no longer has any of the characteristics of the Berbère /Berber/ institution of the past. The latter has made the amghar's fortune, but it hardly survives his success.

*634 IX. Are the chiefs of the Atlas the "lords of the cols"? --
121 In the course of this study, we have given all our attention to an inquiry into the political conditions in which the amghars' power rises and grows. It turned out that the stages of their development appeared to us to be closely bound up with the mechanism of the alliances and the rivalries of soffs and leffs, as if social causes were acting alone in the milieu of the tribes in order to make leaders capable of constituting small independent commands emerge from the Berbère /Berber/ assemblies. On the other hand, we have almost entirely neglected to make allowance for geographical determinism /321/ in order to explain the evolution that occurred in the institutions of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ during the past century.

*631 One might wonder nevertheless whether the very arrangement
121 of the big valleys and mountainous massifs did not play an im-
•182 portant role, even a determining one, in the transformation of the country. The presence of the three great chiefs of the Atlas in the vicinity of the three major routes that cross the mountains, the Tizi n Telwet, the Tizi n Test, and the Tizi Maᶜcho, do they not suggest that the ancestors of these great kaids could have been the masters of the cols long ago and that they drew valuable advantages out of a privileged situation?

Moreover, if the region of the high summits remains the natural refuge of the Berbère /Berber/ republics, do not the small catchment areas, the fertile basins where the valleys grow wider for a moment, indeed offer cadres all prepared for the domination of chiefs, while the great routes of communication

*631 121 •182 /321 cont./ trace in advance the direction toward which their ambitions will carry them?

Whatever may be the interest of these considerations drawn from the geographical arrangement of the country, it would be imprudent, the history of the tribes shows us, to give them too much importance in order to explain the appearance of the minor chiefs who manage the conquest of a state.

To be sure, the possession of these small natural centers, favored both by the richness of the earth and the ease of communications, such as Tinmel on the Nefis, Adasil in the upper Asif el Mal, greatly facilitates the exercise of power and gives the master of the country useful resources; but the opposite is also true; the harsh existence of the Berbères /Berbers/ on an infertile soil spurs the warriors to conquest. Doubtless the hidden "silver mine" by which foreigners think they can explain the successes achieved by the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft was nothing, as we have seen, but the fertility -- completely relative, besides -- of the lands of the Asif Nefis; again the minor chief had to drive the inhabitants from them before increasing the meager revenues from the hills of Tagontaft by means of the good harvests of Arghen and Tinmel.

As for the advantages given by the control of the passages of the Atlas, they can doubtless be invoked in order to make one understand how the fortune of the kaids of the Glawa developed, but they could not explain the initial success of the chiefs of the Nefis. The latter never collected the "zettata" from travelers; they hardly belatedly built "nzala" to shelter them. It /322/ is still more difficult to appeal to this explanation for the kaids of the Mtougga, whose power was backed by a tribe situated away from the route of the cols.

[651] [486] [485]

*634 *631 121 182 It is true that the possession of a major route of communication, the construction of a casbah at the exit from a valley, obligatory road of the montagnards who go down toward the plain, give a chief a superiority that he knows how to use; but as we have seen, amghars rise and become important as frequently in places that at first sight do not seem very favorable for the growth

/322 cont./

*631 121 •182 *[634] of their forces, and it is then that the passive influence of the soil is effaced before the active reality of the energy of men and the strength of their institutions. Here, as elsewhere, one perceives that the arrangement of the routes, the fertility of the valleys and plateaus, or the inaccessible situation of the high plains create mere possibilities which men turn to account on occasion and which also sometimes remain unutilized for long centuries.

But energetic men capable of dominating their brothers are born in every country in the roughest mountains as well as in the fertile basins of the big valleys. It is by the use that they know how to make of social forces, the cleverness with which they call on the soffs, on the leffs, on the solidarity of the tribes, that they first come to win power. After that they take possession of the most favorable places to exercise this authority that their courage and intelligence enabled them to acquire.

*634 554 [1078] X. The amghar does not possess magic power. -- It would be difficult to find, in the restless life of the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, events that can permit us to invoke any magical or religious prestige for the origin of their power. While it seemed possible to us to establish a connection -- fragile, it is true -- between the councils of inflas, senates of the small Berbère /Berber/ states, and the porte-bonheur, "inflas el kheir," who make the important acts in the life of the tribes favorable by their mere presence, the amghar does not at all appear to us to be endowed with a beneficent "baraka" and does not possess hidden virtues. Like the moqaddem whom he replaced, he is only a temporal leader and derives his authority from "the strength of his arm." Everything carries him toward exercising a despotic authority, accepted only because he is strong. Without doubt, when his power has grown by cleverness, ruse, war, or /323/ crime, tradition likes to halo him with legends, or even explain his successes by prodigies. But the imagination of the Berbères /Berbers/, their taste for the "sacred," their love of the marvelous remain incapable of carrying them beyond that. In our epoch at least, one finds no index that permits comparing the

/395 cont./

105 *631 II. The large commands of the Atlas. -- The conditions under which the power of the chiefs of the Atlas is formed in our time is explained, as we have said, by simple laws; it will suffice for us, /396/ in order to bring them to light, to recall briefly the various stages of their conquest of the tribes.

105 *631 *634 616 At the beginning of the last century, several hundred little republics, united among themselves by two chains of alliances, make up an immense chessboard that covers the greater part of the mountains and thus delimits the region in which the long game, whose stake is the liberty of the Berbères /Berbers/, is going to begin between the assemblies, the amghars, and the Makhzen /makhzan/.

105 *634 578 613 At the outset, in the small canton where equilibrium is realized among the heads of all the large families, of all the "ikhs" that share the benefits of the local government, several ambitious ones appear, who think that their greater strength merits them a larger part of the profits; soon two parties form and confront each other; the winner takes the title of "amghar" and replaces the oligarchy of family heads by the tyranny of a single one.

105 *634 • 182 619 726 [616] In this minuscule territory of a small tribal fraction, in this "taqbilt" where the domination of one "ikhs" over the others is thus established, the new chief feels the urgent necessity of maintaining the union that he has realized for a moment by internal force by reviving external wars. Thanks to the ancient alliances concluded between the small republics of the country, he easily manages to extend his influence afar, and soon he undertakes to subject a veritable tribe to his will. If he succeeds in defeating the chief of the opposite alliance, he places the enemy "taqbilt" under the yoke of his leff, and with the support of his canton of origin he organizes, in various forms, the exploitation of a tribe by a canton.

105 *634 619 *631 726 If fortune continues to favor the victorious amghar, one then sees him try to subjugate, with the help of contingents that he has raised in the tribe of which he has become the uncontested master, extensive territories in the plains; entire confederations pay tax to

105 /396 cont./
*634 him; he establishes himself on the mountain routes of passage,
619 builds fortresses there of which his ikhs or village "brothers" are
*63 the guardians; his canton "brothers" stay around him permanently
726 in order to constitute his escort; the warriors that he sends afar to subdue rebels are his tribal "brothers."

105 It is when he has reached this degree of power that the
*631 amghar effortlessly takes a place with the Sultan's kaids. Doubt-
*634 less, he /397/ is not yet confused in the ranks of the servile chiefs
648 of tribes of the plains; he preserves the pride of his power, the ar-
•182 rogance of having been able to constitute with his own forces the vast command that he exercises. Let even a period of anarchy come, he will free himself as much as possible from the orders of the pashas of the neighboring capital; by his inclinations and his ambitions, the mountain lord finds himself henceforth carried along in the current of the politics of the Makhzen /makhzan/; his attention more and more turns away from the obscure mountain traditions; his eyes are more often cast toward the court of the Sultan or of the pretenders; he burns with the desire to play, close to them, by means of disturbances, the more brilliant and still more profitable role of vizier or governor of towns.

In truth, it is not only at the end of this evolution that the role of the Makhzen appears in the tribes. Indeed, the Sultan, from the depths of his palaces in towns far from the mountains, promotes and encourages at all times, to the border of the regions where his authority is directly exercised, the appearance and the growth of amghars. Under the influence of skillful politics, a tendency hostile to the anarchic government of the assemblies forces its way through in the still-independent communities. The great kaids themselves imitate the ruler, and little by little, in proportion as the pressure of the Makhzen is accentuated or as the powerful chiefs of the Atlas become more enterprising, revolutions become more numerous within the republics of the high valleys, to the profit of the ambitious; on the contrary, however, if anarchy breaks out in the Empire, the casbahs are thrown to the ground and their masters put to flight; the strongest chiefs shut themselves up with all haste in their impregnable agadirs, the "Aït Arbaᶜin" resume their meetings; liberty and discord succeed servitude.

/397 cont./

105 In periods favorable to the development of the power of the
* 631 chiefs, one thus sees appearing from everywhere, amidst the in-
*634 dependent tribes, amghars who rise above the traditional govern-
• 182 ment of Berbérie /Barbary/. But, just as plants coming from similar seeds rise to variable heights above the unequally fertile land of the various parts of the mountain that nourishes them, these minor chiefs do not all attain the same degree of development. The majority extend their roots in only one canton and dominate only one valley; rarer are those who are the masters of one tribe; three or four in a century win /398/ the rich irrigated plains and project the shadow of their strength as far as the borders of the Sahara. The land that bears them is itself profound-
[616] ly disturbed by their growth; traditional boundaries of cantons are erased, the mosaic of the leffs, made up of small states knowingly opposed, breaks up and comes apart; finally, the life of the small social units, humble and tenacious vegetation of the high valleys, etiolates and languishes. It is then that the Makhzen
[648] often arrives, which cuts at will these ephemeral plants emerging so rapidly from Berbère /Berber/ soil, as if to harvest the fruit, then plows and turns up as it pleases, for a few years, the poor field of the subjugated tribes.

Whatever their importance may be, all these chiefs of the
[648] Atlas, amghars of cantons or of tribes, great kaids half independent of the Sultan, are inspired by the same principles in the government of their small states.

105 In their external policy, first of all, they adopt a double
* 631 attitude with regard to their subjects as well as for the eyes of
*634 the more powerful chiefs of the vicinity or of the sherifian Makh-
182 zen. To the mountain warriors they pass themselves off as the
554 last defenders of liberty or of local customs; in this way they
648 collect without difficulty the support that the Berbères /Berbers/ always give without measure to those who claim to defend them against outsiders -- Christians or Mussulmans coming from the plains. -- With the great kaids or the Sultan, on the contrary, the amghars willingly take it upon themselves to maintain in order and peace the populations that they have subdued or that they

/398 cont./

105 protect; they are the ones, they say, who restrain the instincts of
*631 pillage and revolt of the inhabitants of the summits; in the future
*654 they will even be able, if it please God, to lead them by ruse
•182 and patience to accept the yoke of submission.
554 The amghars of the Seksawa, whose appearance and growth
648 we have studied, who pass themselves off to their brothers of the high valleys as the protectors of independence, and who besides turn toward the great kaids of Tagontaft and of Bouaboud, offering to make their ambitions triumph as far as into the most remote cantons of the Tichka, have presented themselves in this way for 20 years. This was recently being done for his part by the old ʿAbd el Malek Mtouggi, who liked to defend with affectation the last, the most inoffensive Berbère /Berber/ traditions, which he had allowed to live, while at the same time /399/ complacently allowing the court of the Makhzen to see the constant efforts his policy had to exert in order to contain the mountain dissidents of the Seksawa.

105 This double attitude is moreover very ancient. We have told
*631 what the restless life of a great lord of the Atlas, whose career
175 seems to us to be like a historical precedent for that of Si el Ma-
554 dani Glawi in the first years of our century, had been in the time of Ibn Khaldoun /ibn-Khaldun/. Did we then not see ʿAmer Hintati, master of all the Masmoudian tribes, offer to the Mérinides in difficulty, "in order to render service to the dynasty," to bar the road to the former partisans of the "Mahdi," to whom was attributed the resolution to come again to throw down the unclean mosques of the capital? By means of that role, the great sheik of the Hintata became at the same time the veritable king of the South and collected considerable sums as tax. Likewise, five centuries later
[648] the great kaids of the Atlas were proposing to France, in the first days of the Great War, to ensure by their own means the security of the Sous, in order to "render service" to us, while they were jealously closing to our penetration access to their command or to their zone of influence and were hastily consolidating their conquests by building casbahs in the most fertile valleys, whose good lands they were confiscating.

/399 cont./

105 One can also recall that at the moment of his greatest power
*631 ʿAmer Hintati, master of the Deren, cleverly allowed to exist
175 among the Seksawa and the Gedmiwa of the mountains a seat of
554 independence useful to his policy, this same unsubdued territory
648 that still existed recently at the boundary of the states of the Gontafi and of the Mtouggi; the presence of this faraway and inoffensive dissidence thus permitted justifying in the eyes of the masters of Marrakech the attitude of defenders of the Makhzen /makhzan/ taken so willingly by the great chiefs of the mountains.

105 Such complete analogies between the amghars of the time of
*631 the Mérinides and the semi-independent kaids of our time suffice
*634 to show what permanent necessities are imposed, in every period, on the ephemeral chiefs of the tribes of the Atlas and who, for lack of true traditions, follow the same route in all the proceedings of their policy because they grow under identical circumstances.

105 /400/ But it is above all the internal organization of the
•182 states conquered by the amghars that enables us to glimpse one of
*634 the most constant laws of the history of Berbérie /Barbary/ and to
*631 understand one of the principles that preside over the formation of the great commands.

This domination of a territory, ceaselessly extended farther,
105 which the chief of a soff in a village of the Atlas succeeds in pro-
182 gressively subjecting to his will, is founded, as we have said,
*634 within a canton by the mastery of one "ikhs" over rival "ikhs,"
*631 by the triumph of one leff over another in a tribe, finally by the
616 exploitation of the resources of a large confederation or of im-
571 mense territories of the plains by a privileged tribe. But whatever may be the dimension of the states thus formed, they always keep the mark of their origins. It is for the companions from the village from which the amghar came that the commands of defeated populations are reserved; leff ties or the alliance of families from the tribe of origin serve to link together these warriors henceforth in charge of the rudimentary administration of the conquered country; the lasting existence of a faithful group, constituted thanks to the allies from the first days, thus comes to give more

105 /400 cont./
•182 solidity to the concentric structure of the Berbère /Berber/ state
*634 made up of more and more numerous groups successively inte-
*631 grated by force, and which the will of a family, of a clan, and
616 of a leff maintain solidly assembled, until defeat obliges the
571 conquerors to release their hold and let the tribes go back to the original disorder.

000 III. The Berbère /Berber/ kingdoms of North Africa. -- We do not know with enough preciseness the circumstances under which most of the kingdoms and empires of sedentary Berbérie /Barbary/ were constituted to be able to multiply the examples of this "concentric structure" of states founded by conquest. At least the ones whose origins can be studied show us, in spite of the difference of extent of their frontiers, the profound analogy of the laws of their formation and of that of the large commands of the Atlas.

We shall not retell here the stages of the founding of the Almohade Empire in this same region of the Nefis where there was to appear, eight centuries later, the amghar of Tagontaft, whose more modest epic we have studied at such length. One will recollect that, in this federation of five large tribes united in a single faith /401/ to create the kingdom of the "partisans of the unity of God," the two groups of Aghren and Tinmellel, from which came the father and mother of Ibn Toumert /ibn-Tumart/, always kept a privileged rank; a little later, when the mountain populations accepted the new faith and shared the same hopes of conquest, they were attached by a kind of bond of adoption to one of the five fundamental groups of the Masmouda; besides, it was the warriors of the "five tribes" who furnished the war leaders and the preachers destined to officer the contingents rallied, whose efforts resulted in the conquest of the West; finally, after definitive success, this "Almohade nobility," made up of peasants from the high valleys of the Atlas, went to practice governing the towns of North Africa, administering provinces in Spain, founding kingdoms far away.

It was by following the same path, traced by the nature of the Berbère /Berber/ institutions, that at the other extremity of the

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175 /403 cont./
631 mountain communities relaxes for an instant; the circumstances
182 that then lead the French column of Colonel Corap at Targist to the
648 heart of the enemy country in a single jump cause the complete ruin of the political edifice built up with so much energy by the chief of the Beni Ouriaghel; the organized state whose plan he had outlined with so much boldness /404/ was succeeded in two days by an inert mass of tribes without strength.

Finally, the very circumstances of the moving capitulation of ᶜAbd el Kerim abandoned by his subjects project a bright light on the nature of the little state that he succeeded in creating in four years of effort.

While the Beni Ouriaghel succumb or give way by the number, in defending their villages, the companions of the Riffian chief, who are the inhabitants of Ajdir, from whom he procured his ministers, flee with their wives into a mountain village; ᶜAbd el Kerim himself, having taken refuge at Snada with a marabout, overwhelmed by his defeat, understands the futility of any resistance, and when he agrees to surrender by placing himself under France's protection, the last wish that he formulates illustrates better than a long study the humble origin of the movement: "We are," he says to our officers sent to lead him to submit, "simple agriculturalists. Our desire is to be authorized to live together from our work on a piece of land of the Makhzen." If it had been possible in other, less troubled times to grant the wish of the conquered one, the "Sultan of the Rif" would have been seen with all his Makhzen -- the sons of the Aït Arbaᶜin of Ajdir -- leading in some distant country, with resignation and without too much surprise, the obscure existence of a Berbère /Berber/ hamlet of plowmen.

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121 IV. Fragility of the power of the temporal leaders. -- From
171 the tenth century to our day, the great political laws of the life of
*631 the Maghreb have therefore not changed. Whether it is a matter
554 of the Empire of the Fatimides /Fatimids/ or of the ephemeral
•182 kingdom of ᶜAbd el Kerim, of the chiefs of the Atlas of the fourteenth century or of those of our time, the ambitious men who

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121 171 *631 554 182 want to succeed in dominating and subduing the tribes are inspired by the same principles in a social milieu remaining like itself. The constitution of a small solid core, resistant, blindly devoted to the leader, linked with his interests, remains in all circumstances the necessary condition for success. Even when great religious thoughts or a kind of national feeling manage to come to light in the fractioned mass of Berbère /Berber/ republics, the prophet or conqueror must have the positive balance that the strength of a clan or of a tribe represents, in order to break down particular resistances and to orient the efforts of all the small communities toward the single end that he is proposing for their activity. /405/ The existence of this central group of brothers and faithful ones moreover enables us to understand the irresistible power that the Berbère /Berber/ enterprises of conquest can attain when an internal force assembles in that way and directs the martial energy of the montagnards. But it explains to us at the same time the fragility of these amazing political constructions, capable of returning to nothingness as easily as they come out of it.

121 171 *631 554 182 578 In fact, the great chiefs of today were yesterday men of a canton and of a tribe; they keep intact in the depths of their memory, as do all the companions from their village associated with the work of conquest, the recollection of internal hatreds and ancient vengeances, which make up the life of their small fatherland. Each difficulty of their enterprises, however, will be marked by the awakening of those hostile forces that they dominated for a time, in the very vicinity of the modest hamlet from which they came, and they will often have to intervene with implacable tenacity in order to annihilate them, under the penalty of being swept away by the return of their enemies, whom fortune seems to favor anew.

*[634] [616] Even when the Berbère /Berber/ amghar would succeed, by a prodigy of political spirit, in maintaining the union among his canton or tribal brothers and in moderating the hostility of the leffs and soffs in the bosom of which he grew, he would not, however, be able to find in his previous experience the example of

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121 institutions and laws suitable for directing him in governing his
171 new state. All his cleverness has been exercised up to then in
*63 the narrow cadre of a village assembly; it is not in these repub-
554 lics, where a concern for ensuring equilibrium among the ambi-
*182 tions of the greedy and stubborn "inflas" too often takes the place
578 of a feeling for the public interest, that the leader can get les-
616 sons in disinterestedness and wisdom.
*634 Consequently let us not be surprised that this Berbère /Berber/
121 state is ignorant of the laws of the city, that it has no capital
171 other than a fortress in the heart of a warlike tribe. The left
*631 spirit, the taste for pillage and booty here take the place of an
182 ideal of justice and a feeling of faithfulness. It is not in this country that one can see growing, as in our Western feudality, that powerful hierarchical organization whose base is the family, the king the keystone, and which, like a vast cathedral, is capable of surviving for long centuries, even when the forces that caused it to rise have disappeared.

121 /406/ In Berbérie /Barbary/, antagonism is too marked and
171 hate too deep between the chief surrounded by his brothers and
*631 companions, on the one hand, and the heavily taxed subjects on
182 the other; the burden of the domination of this tyrannical master
578 very quickly becomes intolerable. Also, just as the walls of the house of the lord of the Atlas crack when they are scarcely out of the ground, so does his power, as soon as it is founded, soon give signs of approaching ruin. The great chief's father was a victorious amghar who conquered the tribe; he himself knows how to preserve or extend the domains received as inheritance; but there will come his son, who will be incapable of triumphing over both family quarrels ceaselessly multiplied or "siba" ceaselessly rising again; his grandson will hardly still be the master of a canton. In half a century the defeated ones of former times will have taken back their lands and the assemblies will have profited from the anarchy to restore the former law, forgotten for a time.

[648] When the Makhzen /makhzan/ intervenes in time to collect the political heritage of the Berbère /Berber/ chief before his descendants have allowed it to be dispersed, its government

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121 171 *631 •182 578 648 appears to be smitten by the same weaknesses. In vain do the prestige of divine right, the respect inspired by the holy legislation of the Koran, the co-operation of the force of the armies, the attraction of the Mussulman civilization unite to organize and pacify the Empire. The men on whom the sherifian authority can count have no experience other than that of an unlimited despotism or of an unbridled anarchy; they govern the people as the Berbère /Berber/ horseman rides his horse: exhausting its powers.

So the royal dynasties themselves are scarcely more lasting than those of the amghars; the city spirit reveals itself to be powerless to unite the provinces with their capitals. A crenelated rampart separates the towns from the tribes and marks the boundary between two irreconcilable and opposed social lives. If in the course of centuries the Sultan's conquests succeed in extending ceaselessly farther the limit of his Empire, at the same time, by a kind of law of equilibrium, one sees the "siba" gradually gain larger areas. This millenary struggle, which is the eternal drama of the political life of Berbérie /Barbary/ and in which the chiefs are worn out more quickly than the tribes, will come to an end in North Africa only through the advent of a new order brought about by the French conquest.

792 795 *631 [175] [178] /407/ V. The maraboutic States; their relative stability. -- We could be reproached here for simplifying to excess the aspects of this opposition of chiefs and tribes if we left in shadow the existence of the maraboutic principalities, so flourishing in the Sous several centuries ago and which have existed up to our day in the mountains of the Rif and the heart of the central Atlas.

[128] In these pages devoted to the study of the institutions of our time, we did not think it necessary to study at length the characteristics of these religious states, because they have ceased to have any appreciable importance in the south of Morocco by reason of the progress realized in the course of the last centuries by the authority of temporal leaders and the Sultan. At least we [648] must tell how the presence of these fiefs, constituted by the masters of the zaouias and brotherhoods, brings no element of

792 /408 cont./
795 to the Riffian chief, from the first hours of the fight against Spain,
*631 that facilitated the rapid progress of his power.
191 In the Moyen-Atlas /Middle Atlas/ and the central Atlas, since the destruction of the Zaouia of Dila by the first of the Filalian Sultans, other marabouts have received the political and religious heritage of those lords whose power had extended for a time to the shores of the Atlantic. In imitation of them, they utilized, among the populations remaining the wildest and most bellicose of North Africa, the prestige that knowledge of religion and magic gave them.

In our day no fewer than three of these maraboutic states exist in that region: two of them belong to the old family of the Ahansal, the third is led, at the moment that we are writing these lines, by Sidi Mohammed ben Ta'ibi, who has remained the fiercest of our enemies; the latter also tries to utilize to his advantage the prestige of a great deceased agitator: Sidi ᶜAli Amhaouch, both prophet and marabout, who proved to be the personal adversary of the sultan Moulay el Hasan and the great chiefs of the Zayan.

792 The internal policy of the religious lords is easily explained
795 if one thinks about the origin of their power. Their families,
*631 thanks to their real or alleged nobility, are screened from the
•182 fratricidal fights, the vengeances, the violent quarrels of the leffs, which so deeply disturb the life of the little mountain republics and whose presence makes the beginning of an amghar's government so difficult; besides, their role as arbitrator gives them a freely accepted superiority, so that in the beginning they are almost never obliged to impose tyrannical authority by force; the opposite of the temporal chiefs, they preserve the oligarchic institutions of the "inflas"; far from destroying the local constitutions, they contribute toward maintaining them, and it is to their zaouias that people come to ask for the solution of the most difficult problems, which the customary law has not accurately foreseen. Finally /409/ and above all, since the voluntary tithes, the presents, and the corvées that the tribes grant them enable the religious leaders promptly to become masters of the best lands, they can

792 /409 cont./
795 avoid the abuses of power and the heavy contributions that fre-
*631 quently arouse among the subjects of the amghars and kaids the
182 desire for the liberating "siba."

These reasons suffice to explain how the maraboutic states most often grow without encountering internal resistance; it is only when the zone of influence of these holy personages extends beyond the boundaries of several tribes that one discovers with surprise the importance that they have assumed. It is at this
[578] moment also that their rivalries with the marabouts of the younger branches or of religious families of different origin suddenly ignite war among the montagnards, who have become the respectful servants and devoted defenders of their respective chiefs.

792 The external policy of the masters of the large zaouias fin-
795 ishes making us understand how, in the struggle between the
*631 Makhzen /makhzan/ and the tribes, they most often choose the
648 side of Berbère /Berber/ independence.

As the history of the Sous has shown us, it is during the period when the spirit of holy war developed with the most force, following the Portuguese occupation of the coasts of the South, that the religious lords most easily founded their states in a country remaining anarchic; the marabouts found themselves upheld by the diffuse power of the Islamic faith, and they were haloed with the prestige that the defenders of territory threatened by the Christian conquerors always have among these independent tribes. Still in our day, the zaouias of the shorfa /shurfa/ and of the marabouts, founded in the highest and most difficult part of the country of the Jbala and of the Rif, kept their prosperity up to the moment of pacification. As a matter of fact, their masters were the natural leaders of the "jihad" against the Spanish, whose presence on a few parcels of the soil of the Maghreb had made the threat of foreign domination weigh heavily for five centuries.

When the sherifian power is strong enough to restore the unity
[178] of the Empire and to defend the integrity of the soil of Islam with its own resources, the prestige of the marabouts naturally decreases. Sometimes, it is true, the Sultan tries to utilize the religious leaders in the mountains in order to obtain more easily the submission of distant /410/ tribes.

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178 of the populations of the far Maghreb. The religious leaders are
792 only the propagators of an Islam obligingly adapted to the
795 narrow-mindedness of the mountain republics, and which respects
*631 or tolerates customs up to those most contrary to the prescriptions of the holy book; in their domains they introduce neither the language of the Arabs nor the habitudes of the government of the /411/ plains; their role is to preserve, rather than to modify, the social and political structure of Berbérie /Barbary/.

175 Perhaps, however, it is not impossible to compare the role
792 and situation of these personages with that of the founders of the
795 first orthodox or heretical religious principalities, such as the ones
*631 of the Idrisides and of the Berghouata before the founding of the Almoravide and Almohade Empires.

178 Associated thus with the independent republics, the marabouts often participate in their surprising stability and the strength that traditions preserve in them. Certain religious dynasties -- that of the Ahansal, which local traditions have going back to the thirteenth century, that of the chiefs of the Tazerwalt, whose ancestor was one of the disciples of the Jazouli /al-Jazuli/ at the end of the fifteenth century -- thus succeed in preserving power longer than the shorfa masters of the Empire.

182 The importance of the political role of the marabouts among
792 the tribes remaining free, the stability of their domination, and
795 the advantages that the Berbères /Berbers/ draw from it permit us
*631 to regard their presence as the necessary complement of the organization of the independent republics. Peacemakers of the internal wars, defenders of religion, they suffice to satisfy the montagnards' ideal without grandeur by enabling them to avoid, in their minuscule cantons, external constraints and to elaborate in the disorder and the anarchy the primitive political constitutions to which they limit their efforts. Perhaps it is permissible to say that this "pre-makhzen" state, marked by the presence of large religious fiefs, still apparent in the Sous before the eighteenth century, in which the tribes of the central Atlas live at present and which the Rif preserved up to these last years, offers us the picture of the natural life of Islamized Berbérie /Barbary/ when

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/411 cont./ it manages, in voluntary isolation, to remain apart from the Makhzen /makhzan/.

However that may be, the long influence of the religious leaders in the past leaves no traces in a large part of the South of Morocco in our day other than the presence of their respected tombs; their descendants live without glory in poor villages, and the only role that they still can play is to arbitrate simple family quarrels. In former times they tried to stop the evolution of the country threatened by the Makhzen by exerting in favor of the tribes a resistance that permitted them to found states. But in the course of the /412/ last century, the progress of the Empire made exercise of their authority impossible; the history of the last generations shows us no more than the almost regular seesaw of the conquests of the Makhzen and the sibas, the opposition of the chiefs and the assemblies. Two irreducible hostile forces, two irreconcilable conceptions of political life take each other's measure in the Sous as in a closed field, and the mediation of the religious powers can no longer usefully be exercised to attenuate the violence of the struggle.

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VI. Consequences of the tribes' submission to the Makhzen. -- In spite of the efforts of the tribes and the revolts that followed the end of the sultans' reigns, the nineteenth century was marked in the south of Morocco by the constant progress of the policy of the Makhzen /makhzan/. During the confused period of the first years of the French occupation, moreover, the great chiefs of the mountains and the kaids of the plains for 15 years proceeded with the transformation of the Berbère /Berber/ country with new activity.

Consequently, no region of Morocco enables us to perceive as well as the Sous does the consequences that their entrance into the Sherifian Empire entails for the small, formerly autonomous, mountain states.

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The only benefit that the Makhzen brought to the Berbère /Berber/ tribes is internal order. Under the government of the kaids, struggles of soffs and leffs are indeed stopped or limited;

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 666 527 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertainment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the conclusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 666 [643] To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a candidate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 631 After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the [621] *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The res- [613] pondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or [182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 554 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still